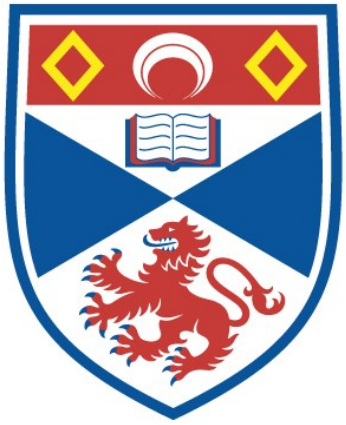
FROM JUDAISM TO CALVINISM : THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF IMMANUEL TREMELLIUS (1510-1580)

Kenneth R. G. Austin

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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Abstract

The existing literature on the sixteenth-century Christian-Hebraist, Immanuel Tremellius, is seriously inadequate. Two very short German biographies did appear in the nineteenth century, but nothing substantial has ever been written about him in English, while he has been almost entirely overlooked in the twentieth century by Reformation scholars from all countries. It is the underlying contention of this thesis, however, that his contribution was far more significant than this lack of attention would suggest. The dissertation begins by constructing as detailed a biography of Tremellius as the surviving sources allow. This then provides the necessary framework against which his contribution to the age may be properly evaluated. In particular, the high regard in which he was held by his contemporaries, his activities as a Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament studies, and his written works, especially his Latin translation of the Bible, generally regarded as the pre-eminent Protestant Latin translation to emerge from the sixteenth century, all highlight the important position which he filled.

Expressly because the different elements of his contribution have been overshadowed in recent Reformation scholarship, the experiences of Tremellius have much to tell us about the early modern period as a whole. He highlights the importance of both the Jewish and the Italian contributions to the culture of sixteenth-century Protestantism. In addition, the crucial role attached to the finest biblical scholarship, shown both in the efforts to find suitable teaching positions for Tremellius and the success of his Bible editions forces a re-evaluation of Calvinism as a whole. Confessional polemic was undoubtedly a significant feature of the religious culture of the period, but this was something which Tremellius consciously avoided in all he did. Moreover, despite the prejudices against him both as a Jew and as an Italian, Tremellius, simply through the quality of his scholarship, won the respect of figures as exalted as Calvin himself.

Declarations

(i) I, Kenneth R. G. Austin, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 100,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

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(ii) I was admitted as a research student in September 1998, and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. in September 1998; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between 1998 and 2002.

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(iii) I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

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Abbreviations

ARG	Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte
Becker	Wilhelm Becker - Immanuel Tremellius, ein Proselyntenleben im Zeitalter der Reformation (Leipzig, 1891)
BHR	Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance
B.L.	British Library, London
B.N.	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
Butters	Friedrich Butters - Emanuel Tremellius, erster Rector des Zweibrücker Gymnasiums. Eine Lebensskizze zur Feier des dreihunderjährigen Jubiläums dieser Studienanstalt (Zweibrücken 1859)
Carlyle	E. I. Carlyle - 'Tremellius, John Immanuel (1510-1580)' in The Dictionary of National Biography 57 (1899), pp.186-7
C.deB.	Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze, edited by F. Aubert et al (Geneva, 1960-)
CH	Church History
CHR	Catholic Historical Review
C.O.	Ioannis Calvini Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia, edited by G. Baum, E. Cunitz, E. Reuss et al. (Braunschweig, 1834-60)
CPR	Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office (London, 1926)
CSP-Foreign	Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series (London, 1863-1950)
CSP-Spanish	Calendar of State Papers, Spanish Series (London, 1862-1954)
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
Herminjard	Aime Louis Herminjard - Correspondance des reformateurs dans les pays de langue française: recuielle et publiee avec d'autres lettres relatives a la reforme et des notes historiques et biographiques (9 vols., 1866-67)
JEH	Journal of Ecclesiastical History

JMH	Journal of Modern History
Ney (1885)	J. J. Ney - 'Tremellius, Emanuel' in Herzog Plitt and Hauck (Eds.) - Real-Encyklopadie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche... In zweiter durchgangig verbesserteer und vermehrter Auflag... (18 vols., Leipzig, 1877-88), vol.16 (1885), pp.1-3
Ney (1908)	J. J. Ney - 'Tremellius, Immanuel' in Albert Hauck (Ed.) - Real-Encyklopadie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche (24 vols., Leipzig, 1896-1913), vol. 20 (1908), pp.95-8
Ney (1911)	J. J. Ney - 'Tremellius, Emanuel' in The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia of Religious Knowledge (12 vols.), vol. 11 (1908), p.504
Original Letters	H. Robinson (Ed.) - Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation. Written during the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI and Queen Mary: Chiefly from the Archives of Zürich (2 vols., Cambridge, 1846-7)
RQ	Renaissance Quarterly
SCJ	Sixteenth Century Journal
StAZ	Staatsarchiv Zürich
ZB	Zentralbibliothek Zürich
Zurich Letters	The Zurich Letters, edited by H. Robinson (2 vols., Cambridge, 1842/5)

Introduction

Immanuel Tremellius (1510-1580) had a profound and multi-dimensional impact upon the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Following his conversion to Christianity from Judaism, he rose to prominence in the mid-sixteenth century as a Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament studies, teaching in numerous highly prestigious Reformed academies and universities across much of northern Europe. Indeed, by focusing on Hebraic studies, in an adopted Christian context, he was able to capitalise on that background: without doubt, no contemporary, Christian by birth, would have been able to claim such an instinctive understanding of Jewish language and culture. This was nowhere more evident than in his writings, and especially in his Latin editions of the Old and New Testaments. In his own lifetime, Immanuel Tremellius was considered a scholar of the first rank by his contemporaries, and his abilities as a teacher meant that, throughout his career, he was much sought-after to provide Hebrew instruction by both individuals and institutions; his writings, moreover, continued to be reprinted until the beginning of the eighteenth century, ensuring that his reputation endured long beyond his death.

Yet this contemporary regard has all but failed to transmit to modern scholarship: the secondary material which deals specifically with Tremellius is seriously limited. Admittedly, two German biographies, both dating from the second half of the nineteenth century, do exist. The earlier of these was written by Friedrich Butters and published in Zweibrücken in 1859.[1] The second, which was written by Wilhelm Becker, a pastor,

[1] Friedrich Butters - Emanuel Tremellius, erster Rector des Zweibrücker Gymnasiums. Eine Lebenskizze zur Feier des dreihundertjahrigen Jubilaums dieser Studienanstalt (Zweibrücken, 1859)

was first published in Breslau in 1887.[2] Together these works consist of only about 100 pages, and are very sparing in their use of footnotes, or references to primary sources. Moreover, they are both very general accounts, devoting as much time, if not more, to the wider context of sixteenth-century Europe, as to Tremellius himself.

Tremellius has been rather overlooked in the twentieth century as well: for instance, he does not have an entry in Hans Hillerbrand's recent four-volumed The Oxford Encyclopaedia of the Reformation,[3] but this is only one of the most recent occasions where he has been omitted. In any case, those accounts which have appeared, either as short encyclopaedia articles, or as digressions in works on other subjects, have tended to be highly derivative. Indeed, Becker's biography, which is decidedly confessional, and even occasionally hagiographical in nature, has been the principal source for almost all of the considerations of Tremellius' life to have appeared in the last 115 years.

Various reasons may be adduced as to why his career has not been subjected to a new appraisal. For a start, one must consider that Tremellius spent his life wandering through Europe, with the result that the historians of no country have instinctively claimed him as their own. He was born in Italy, but his principal achievements were to come once he had crossed the Alps into northern Europe. It is perhaps no surprise that the two, slight, modern works which deal with Tremellius originate from Germany, the country in which he spent the greatest proportion of his working life. This geographical issue is compounded by the religious dimension: Tremellius was born a Jew but gained renown as a Christian; he was raised in Catholic Italy, but spent the majority of his teaching career in Protestant areas of Europe.

Furthermore, his itinerancy makes considerable demands of his biographer. An understanding of the circumstances and events of at least five countries and ten or so

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[2]Wilhelm Becker - Immanuel Tremellius. Ein Proselyntenleben im Zeitalter der Reformation (Breslau, 1887; 2nd edition, Leipzig, 1890)
[3]Hans J. Hillerbrand - The Oxford Encyclopaedia of the Reformation (4 vols., Oxford, 1995)

towns and cities is required to allow each phase of his life to be considered in its proper context. Equally, a knowledge of at least four modern languages is necessary; Tremellius, it would seem, was himself fluent in Italian, French, German and English. His proficiency in Latin, Greek, and numerous Semitic tongues can also be somewhat problematic for the historian. Tremellius' use of Hebrew, in particular, makes him less accessible to scholars working in the western tradition. In addition, the nature of his works does not lend them to straightforward use: he generally produced translations and commentaries, rather than entirely free-standing works of his own creation. Finally, and in large measure as a consequence of the combination of all these factors, one must contend with the fact that so few historians have sought to deal with Tremellius at anything other than a very perfunctory level.

The most immediate impact of such little historical interest in Tremellius has been that a substantial part of my research has simply been directed at drawing together as many of the relevant materials as possible. One element of this has involved collating the mentions of Tremellius made by earlier historians. Beginning with the two nineteenth biographies, and a number of shorter biographical articles, such as those in the Dictionary of National Biography, the Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, and the Biographie Universelle, not to mention other works in which it was likely that he would appear, including those on colleagues of Tremellius, places in which he worked, and projects with which he was involved, I have pursued their references and sources, and through them, back ultimately to the seventeenth century. The increasing number of repeated items appearing in this quest has suggested to me that I have managed to trace by far the majority of works in which Tremellius appears. Three generalisations may be made about these. First, there seems to be a general, if somewhat superficial, appreciation of how significant and skilled a figure Tremellius was. Secondly, these accounts tend to consist of little more than potted biographies. Finally, they are noteworthy for their errors, inaccuracies and omissions, leading to many contradictions in the historical writing on Tremellius. This is a problem which I tackle in the first chapter of this thesis.

The same approach also did much to assist in identifying the relevant primary sources. Unfortunately, Tremellius wrote very little about himself. We do not, for instance, have the luxury of an autobiography written in exile or from retirement, in which he seeks to justify the career path he has chosen, or to explain his agenda. Nor do we have the account of a friend or acolyte. Even in the prefaces to his works and in his correspondence, Tremellius keeps personal remarks to a minimum, generally preferring to address more serious matters of business. Nonetheless, these sources remain of great significance. His corpus of writings is perhaps the most obvious place to start: he can be associated with around a dozen works, several of which went through multiple editions. Not only do the contents of these shed light on his broad interests as an academic, but a more detailed analysis of certain writings highlights the nature of his particular contribution to the scholarship of the period, and also allows one to identify his underlying intentions as an author, his individual perspective and attitudes. Appendix 1 contains a catalogue of every edition of each work which he was responsible for, or involved with, that I have been able to locate.

Tremellius' correspondence constitutes a second major source base; unfortunately, unlike many of the other leading reformers, no collected volumes of his letters exist, from any age. Rather, it has been a case of trawling through other sources, including both existing collections of letters, and also archival holdings. A list of the letters which I have found, almost certainly not exhaustive, is contained in Appendix 2. These do contain some personal insights, biographical details, and information relating to his various activities. More importantly, however, they help more fully to contextualise his career and success. He was throughout his life dependent on the goodwill and support of others, and it is evident from his correspondence that he was very well-regarded by his contemporaries, both on a personal and a professional level. His place within the republic of letters is crucial to understanding his contribution to his age. Finally, additional information may be gathered from a wide variety of other documents, such as letters in which Tremellius is mentioned, legal documents and decrees, university

records, matriculation lists, and some of the books which Tremellius is known to have owned. Certainly, this is a highly disparate source base, but it provides more than enough material to assemble an account of his life and writings which is more comprehensive, and more fully supported, than anything which has previously been written about him.

It is the underlying contention of this thesis that Tremellius is more important a figure to the sixteenth century than has generally been realised, and consequently that he is deserving of considerably greater modern recognition for the role he played than he has hitherto received. In particular, the successful and prestigious career which he enjoyed should alert us to the contemporary appreciation for the skills that he could offer. The leading academic, religious and political figures of the age were united in their positive evaluation of Tremellius' attributes and what they represented. The instruction which he offered in the classroom, and his published writings, were both highly-valued commodities. In the Reformation period, nothing was more important than having the most accurate version of the Scriptures, and enough people able to interpret it. Tremellius was able to provide both of these things.

The exemplary scholarship of Tremellius' Bible meant that those who used it, whether to expound upon theological matters or to attack alternative positions, could do so safe in the knowledge that their arguments were firmly grounded in an accurate rendering of the Hebrew original. Through his lectures in universities across the continent, moreover, Tremellius was able to assist in the process whereby other men were provided with the necessary skills to contribute to this process themselves. The competition to produce the most faithful renderings of the Scriptures was one that occurred largely behind the scenes; it has consequently also received less attention from historians of the period. Nonetheless, the evidence from the sixteenth century is that a wide range of figures appreciated quite how important this was: in these two different respects, Tremellius was providing his co-religionists with the fundamental skills and

materials on which all their other activities would have to be based. Indeed, his work was fundamental for the emerging Calvinist movement as a whole.

Furthermore, not least because he has for so long been overlooked, his experiences have much to tell us about the early modern period more generally. As we will see, in a variety of respects, Tremellius does not fit into the established categories and stereotypes of historical analysis, while in others he provides a necessary corrective, or allows our understanding to become more nuanced and developed. Thus, Tremellius is both important on his own right, and also because of the lessons which we may draw from using him as a case-study.

It is essential to begin a study of Tremellius by providing a biographical account of his career. As I have already remarked, many errors have crept into the historical writing on Tremellius, and these need to be corrected; in addition, any contradictions need to be resolved wherever this is possible. In any case, given that he is now virtually unknown, it makes sense to begin with an overview of his life. Though many of the details remain sketchy, the twists and turns in Tremellius' long career (he died at the age of 70) are fascinating in their own right. Moreover, despite his unquestioned significance to the sixteenth century, and particularly to the world of biblical translation and exegesis, the details of his life are far from familiar to scholars of the Reformation. Furthermore, this biographical sketch will provide the necessary framework against which what follows may be better understood. In particular, an appreciation of the contours of his life will facilitate a more accurate assessment of his contribution to his time in its proper context.

Chapter two will go back and look in more detail at the Italian phase of his career. Although very little can be said about this period in his life with complete certainty, enough evidence survives to place him in various environments between 1510 and the early 1540s, about which much is known. It is therefore possible to identify many of the likely influences upon him during these years. This is of considerable importance, because it was in this context that he moved from Judaism through Catholicism and on

to Protestantism. Moreover, his education and the religious currents with which he came into contact did much to shape his attitudes and personality at the point when he left Italy. These were then also the factors which would have done much to direct his activities in exile. Ultimately, they shed light on aspects of his professional career, and the attitudes which he brought to bear in his published works.

In the third chapter, attention will be turned to the various figures who played important roles in Tremellius' career, once he had left Italy. Although he had become highly proficient as a teacher of Hebrew by 1542, he was unpublished and virtually unknown outside Italy. Moreover, as a convert from Judaism living in exile, he remained a rather vulnerable figure. Peter Martyr Vermigli, who fled into exile at the same time as Tremellius, had been his employer immediately before, and was able to introduce his protégé into northern Europe. Thereafter, he moved from patron to patron, with each journey that he was forced to make. Recommendations from friends and colleagues provided the necessary introductions, while he then sought to supplement them with dedications and further flattering letters of his own. Not least because of his long career, and his itinerancy, Tremellius seems to have personally met, or corresponded with, a huge number of the leading figures of the century; more importantly, perhaps, it is evident that he was highly-regarded by almost all of those who registered an opinion on him. Furthermore, as an individual who sought to avoid giving away anything about himself, one can learn much about Tremellius from the other members of the academic community in which he found himself.

Chapter four will look at Tremellius' role as a teacher. Although this was his occupation for a period of over forty years, his biographers have largely avoided dealing with this subject. Yet an appreciation of this subject is crucial for understanding both why he was so highly regarded by his contemporaries, and also the impact he had upon the period. Sources survive which allow one to gain an insight into what Tremellius taught, and also to identify some of the people whom he taught. The study of university instruction, particularly within the theological faculty, is still in its infancy, so

Tremellius offers a highly prestigious case-study to begin to fill out this area. His lectures also offer an interesting point of comparison for his biblical writings, and prove informative about the relationship between the two. By looking at some of the people who may have received instruction from him, avenues for further research may be opened up: a number of renowned figures were taught by Tremellius, and it is quite possible that they would in some way go on to demonstrate that connection in their subsequent careers.

The final two chapters will look in detail at his two most important writings, his translation of the New Testament from Syriac into Latin which was first published in 1569, and his translation of the Old Testament from Hebrew into Latin which first appeared in 1575-79. These were both significant contributions to the biblical scholarship of the Reformation era. All previous versions of the New Testament had been made from Greek texts, but a Syriac edition had been published in 1555; Tremellius' edition was the first translation of this. As for his Old Testament, this came to be regarded as the most accurate version to emerge from the sixteenth century; it went through numerous editions through the seventeenth and even into the eighteenth centuries. Analyses of a selection of the annotations which supplement Tremellius' biblical editions demonstrate his particular skills as a Hebraist, as well as illuminating his intentions and concerns in publishing these works. Reflecting the various experiences of his career, he avoids religious polemic in his annotations, preferring to include material which will help with the understanding of the biblical passages on as many different levels as he can. These works could then be used by writers and preachers in various ways, primarily because they were so accurate, comprehensive, and supported by the requisite academic abilities.

Paradoxically, Immanuel Tremellius is of historical importance both because his contribution to the age was so exceptional, but also because he typifies much of that era at the same time. His skills as a Hebraist were unparalleled at a time when such abilities were valued above almost all others. Not only did this mean that he was highly sought

after as a professor of Hebrew by several prestigious universities, but also that his biblical editions came to be regarded as the best to emerge from the century. His impact upon the Reformation era therefore came partly through the classroom, and partly through his published works. Yet, despite this extraordinary contribution, he has as much to tell us about a number of more familiar themes of the period. He was of course a product of his age, and a figure working within an environment which shaped other more familiar figures. However, the particular details of Tremellius' experiences force us to reassess many of our preconceptions about this period. Previous generations of historians have given undue attention to certain trends; in order to come to a better understanding of the sixteenth century, Immanuel Tremellius needs to be given the attention that he deserves, and the lessons from his career need to be fully appreciated.

Chapter One: The Life

> Immanuel Tremellius natus est Ferrariae in Italia, patre Hebres; Cl. V. D. Petrum Martyrem secutus est primum in Germaniam, Argentinam: deinde in Angliam, regnanti Eduardo VI a cuius morte venit iterum in Germaniam, & in schola Hornbachensi sub Duce Wolfgango Bipontino docuit: unde vocatus est Heidelbergam ad Professionem Hebraeam in Academia. Hinc discesit Anno 1578. Metas, vinda vocatus Sedamim ibidem mortuus est Anno 1580. Anni aetatis misi non fust noti. Scio tamen cum septuagenarium (plus minus) fuisse.
>
> (Anon., 1580?)[1]

> This rare Hebrician, though at first confined
> To Jewish principles, at last inclined
> Himself to goodness, and employ'd his heart
> To trace and follow a Diviner art;
> And so improved himself that he became,
> From a small spark, a most aspiring flame.
> And at the last he laid his temple down
> In Abraham's bosom, and received a crown.
>
> (Thomas Fuller, 1867)[2]

As the first of these two extracts indicates, the bare bones of Immanuel Tremellius' life have been known since his death in 1580. Over the last four hundred years or so, versions of his life have been repeated intermittently, with varying degrees of detail and accuracy. By the nineteenth century, as the second extract suggests, he had become little more than a stereotype: a trophy convert from Judaism to the Reformation who, it was felt, proved the superiority of Protestantism simply through his religious choice. It

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[1] Paris BN MSS Fonds Français, Dupuy 348 no.120. The manuscript is dated 1578, but this cannot be correct. I am most grateful to Alexander Wilkinson for locating and transcribing this source for me.

[2] Thomas Fuller - 'The Life and Death of Immanuel Tremellius' in Ibid. - Abel Redevivus; or the dead yet speaking. The Lives and Deaths of the Modern Divines, (2nd edition, 2 vols., London, 1867), vol.2, p.46

was in this context, moreover, that the two principal, if still slight, biographies of Tremellius were written. Despite some strengths, both works have significant flaws which seriously undermine their historical value. Friedrich Butters' Emanuel Tremellius, erster Rector des Zweibrücker Gymnasiums, which appeared in 1859, has no footnotes, with the result that one is left uncertain as to where historical reality becomes speculation.[3] In his work of 1887, Immanuel Tremellius. Ein Proselyntenleben im Zeitalter der Reformation, Wilhelm Becker, a pastor from Breslau, does include some footnotes, but there are many other parts of his account which are clearly fabricated.[4] There is, throughout his narrative, a strong hagiographic element. Yet his has become the standard account of Tremellius' life: Becker's biography has been the principal, and often the only, source for virtually every discussion of Tremellius which has appeared since. In addition, many further errors have crept into the historical writing on Tremellius. By returning to the primary sources, this chapter will seek to provide the first thoroughly grounded account of his life. Inevitably, some gaps do remain. On some occasions it may be possible to offer plausible conjecture, but on others, one has to concede that one simply does not know what happened. Nonetheless, this chapter constitutes the most accurate life of Tremellius ever to be produced. It is only against this backdrop, with all the previous errors and confusions removed, moreover, that one can really come to a proper understanding of Tremellius' contribution to his times.

The earliest part of Tremellius' life is, unsurprisingly, also the least documented. All his extant writings and correspondence come from the period after he had left Italy. Nonetheless, sufficient materials have survived to allow the broad outlines of his time in Italy to be sketched. It is beyond doubt that Immanuel Tremellius was born in Ferrara in, or around, 1510. When he is mentioned in contemporary sources, he is generally

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[3] Friedrich Butters - Emanuel Tremellius, erster Rector des Zweibrücker Gymnasiums, Eine Lebensskizze zur Feier des dreihundertjährigen Jubiläums dieser Studienanstalt (Zweibrücken, 1859); hereafter Butters.

[4] Wilhelm Becker - Immanuel Tremellius. Ein Proselyntenleben im Zeitalter der Reformation (Breslau, 1887; Leipzig, 1891); hereafter Becker.

described as being from that city, and he even describes himself as 'Ferrariensis' in the dedication of one of his early works.[5] The only exception, among the primary sources, is the report made to Philip II of Spain by his ambassador, Guzman de Silva, in which it is claimed that Tremellius was from Mantua;[6] the rest of de Silva's account, however, makes it quite clear that the diplomat was simply not very well informed about his subject.[7] As for the attribution of the 1510 date of birth, this would seem to be the product of two other facts, namely that Tremellius is known for certain to have died in 1580, and that he was generally considered to have been about 70 years old by that point.[8]

As we will discuss more fully in Chapter two, by the start of the sixteenth century, under the enlightened despotism of the princes of the House of Este, Ferrara had been transformed into a prosperous and elegant Renaissance city. The time which Tremellius spent there was fully contained within the reign of Duke Alfonso I, who ruled from 1505 to 1534. Tremellius was born a Jew, and as a result would have been brought up in the Jewish quarter of the city.[9] In fact, there had been Jews in or around Ferrara since at least the thirteenth century; as elsewhere in northern and central Italy, they had been invited by the government to establish loan-banking enterprises in the city, a profession

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[5] "Illustrissimo Principi ac Domino, Domino Friderichо Comiti Palatino Rheni, Duci Bavariae, Sacri Romani Imperii Electori, &c, Domino suo clementissimo, Immanuel Tremellius Ferrariensis foelicitatem in Domino optat", Tremellius - In Hoseam Prophetam Interpretatio et Enarratio Immanuelis Tremellii Theologiæ doctoris, una cum aliaru tam veterum quam recentiu interpretationum examine & iudicio, unde earum errores non modo facile possint animadverti, sed fontes ipsi ex quibus fluxerint certo comperiri & penitus inspici a quovis queant (Geneva, 1563), p.3 c.f. Gustav Toepke - Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg von 1386 bis 1662 (2 vols., Heidelberg, 1884-6), vol.2, p.25 where Tremellius, on joining the theological faculty of Heidelberg University, is also described as "Ferrariensis".

[6] Guzman de Silva to the King [Philip II], 27 March 1568, CSP-Spanish, Vol. 2, pp.16-17. Most historians have appreciated that Tremellius came from Ferrara, although Thomas A. Brady Jnr. - Protestant Politics: Jacob Sturm (1489-1553) and the German Reformation (Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey, 1995), p. 123 mistakenly considers him a native of Florence while A. G. Dickens - The English Reformation (London, 1964, 1989), p. 233 describes him as "by birth a Jew of Lucca".

[7] De Silva also suggests that Tremellius had taught at Oxford rather than Cambridge, for instance.

[8] For a discussion of attitudes to age a little earlier in the sixteenth century, see John Hale - Renaissance Europe, 1480-1520 (Glasgow, 1971, 1990), pp.14-18

[9] Contemporary sources tend to describe Tremellius as the son of a Jew, presumably to emphasise that this was a religion into which he was born, and from which he converted as soon as he achieved a level of intellectual maturity and independence from his family; this phraseology has largely been adopted by subsequent historians. Philip McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy: An Anatomy of Apostasy (Oxford, 1967), p.223 is perhaps a little premature when he writes that Tremellius "was born in the ghetto at Ferrara", as it had not yet been officially designated as such.

forbidden to Christians.[10] During the fifteenth century, a number of Ashkenazim came to settle in Ferrara, while Jewish numbers were further increased following the expulsions from Spain in 1492.[11] The Jewish community had established a cemetery in 1451 and a synagogue was completed shortly before the turn of the century.[12] Throughout the sixteenth century, Ferrara welcomed further groups of Jewish exiles. For instance, in 1510, a largely German group of Jews fled there from Padua during the War of the League of Cambrai, while in 1531, many Portuguese Marranos took refuge there.[13] At the time that Tremellius was in Ferrara, the population was somewhere between 80,000 and 100,000, of whom approximately 2,000 were Jewish.[14] Under the Este princes, the Jewish populace enjoyed relative security, compared even with most other parts of Italy, let alone Europe as a whole.[15] At the same time, while a ghetto had not yet been formally established, Judaeo-Christian relations were still often marred by tension, and the Jews did constitute a group apart.[16]

Nothing is known with certainty about Tremellius' family. There has been some speculation in the secondary literature that his father may have been a doctor, but such a contention seems to be based primarily on the frequency with which Jews entered the medical profession.[17] Given the significance of the Jewish community to Ferrarese banking, mentioned above, one could surely equally suggest that Tremellius came from

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[10] David B. Ruderman - The World of a Renaissance Jew. The Life and Thought of Abraham ben Mordecai Farissol (Cincinnati, 1981), p. 14

[11] Moses A. Shulvass - The Jews in the World of the Renaissance (Leiden, 1973), p.20

[12] Ruderman - World of a Renaissance Jew, p. 15

[13] Shulvass - Jews in the World of the Renaissance, p.21

[14] Becker, p.1 and Butters, p.1 both suggest that the population of Ferrara was 80,000, while Shulvass - Jews in the World of the Renaissance, p.14 gives the figure as 100,000. Becker, p.1 and Shulvass - Jews in the World of the Renaissance, p.21 concur on the size of the Jewish population there.

[15] See Pier Cesare Ioly Zorratini - 'Ebrei Sefarditi & Marrani a Ferrara dalla Fine del Quattrocento alla Devoluzione del Ducato Estense', pp.117-30. c.f. Nicolas Davidson - 'The Inquisition and the Italian Jews' in Stephen Haliczer (Ed.) - Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe (New Jersey, 1987), pp.19-46

[16] Elliott Horowitz - 'Jewish Confraternal Piety in Sixteenth-Century Ferrara: Continuity and Change' in Nicholas Terpstra (Ed.) - The Politics of Ritual Kinship. Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy (Cambridge, 2001), p.150

[17] While Butters, p.3 concedes "Wir kennen seiner Vater nicht", J. F. de le Roi - Die evangelische Christenheit und die Juden unter dem Gesichtspunkte der Mission geschichtlich betrachtet (Karlsruhe and Leipzig, 1884), p. 51 claims that Tremellius' father was "wahrscheinlich ein jüdischer Arzt". This contention was then reproduced, again without any supporting evidence other than the practice of other Jews, by Becker, p.1

a banking family. In any case, the concern of Tremellius' parents for their son's education, not to mention Immanuel's subsequent career, make it less likely, although by no means impossible, that his origins should have been particularly humble. It is equally unknown whether Tremellius had any siblings. It would be a little unusual were Tremellius an only child in this era, but no information survives to prove the contrary.

As a very young child, it is possible that Tremellius received instruction within his own household, but he must have moved on to formal teaching at some stage. In his biography of Tremellius, Wilhelm Becker includes a number of fanciful techniques by which his subject began his instruction in Hebrew.[18] First, he claims, Tremellius' teacher painted the characters of the Hebrew alphabet, short biblical quotations and the motto "Die Lehre sei meine Beschäftigung" - "Learning will be my occupation" - with honey on a blackboard so that "damit der Kleine die Süßigkeit der Lehre mit seiner Zunge erprobe".[19] Secondly, flour, oil, honey and milk were mixed together to prepare cakes on which longer biblical passages could be inscribed. Finally, Becker claims that extracts from the Bible were written on the shells of boiled eggs. Admittedly, it was not uncommon for small treats to be used in the education of young children, but it is seriously to be doubted that Becker had any evidence on which to base these claims; he certainly does not refer to any. Nonetheless, the underlying point which he was trying to make, albeit through apocryphal tales, is an important one. One of the things which would later distinguish Tremellius from most of his contemporary Hebraists was the fact that, as a Jew, he had learnt Hebrew from his early childhood, with the result that he came to have a more intuitive understanding than those Christians who had come to the study of Hebrew later in their lives.

Whether or not these anecdotes should be given any credence, Tremellius must rapidly have moved on to more advanced, and more orthodox, methods of education. Butters is surely correct when he asserts that Tremellius' achievements as a teacher of Hebrew and

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[18] Becker, pp.2-3
[19] Ibid., p.3

as an author make it clear that his parents gave him a classical education.[20] Tremellius undoubtedly persisted with his Hebrew studies, but it is also likely that, at some point, he began to receive instruction in Latin and Greek. This is certainly the view of McNair, who suggests that he studied all three languages in Ferrara.[21] Furthermore, as we will see in the next chapter, it is quite likely that he came into contact with Abraham ben Mordecai Farissol, who was the principal teacher in the Jewish community of Ferrara between about 1474 and 1528.[22] It can hardly be imagined that a precocious student like Tremellius would have failed to avail himself of at least some of the opportunities which such an environment presented. Also, at the age of 13, as was customary, he would have undergone his Bar Mitzvah, the ceremony which marks the initiation of a Jewish boy into the adult community, and the assumption of full religious responsibilities.

According to the 'traditional' account, derived from the biography of Becker, Tremellius remained in Ferrara only until 1530, at which point he headed to Padua where he would remain for a decade.[23] Yet, especially in the absence of much in the way of documentary material, the traditional account should not automatically be accepted as correct. The attribution of the date of 1530, coming between his birth in 1510 and his conversion in around 1540, in particular, seems rather too neat and convenient. Moreover, it cannot be proved, with complete certainty, that Tremellius even attended the University of Padua. As a Jew, he would not have been entitled to

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[20] Butters, p.3

[21] McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy, p.223

[22] Ruderman - World of a Renaissance Jew offers a biographical sketch of Farissol, and an analysis of all of his major writings.

[23] Becker, pp.4-7. The Padua sojourn is also mentioned, for instance, by Simonetta Adorni-Braccessi - «Una Città Infetta» La Republica di Lucca nella Crisi Religiosa del Cinquecento (Florence, 1994), p.113, McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy, p.223, John and J. A. Venn - 'Tremellius, John Emmanuel' in Ibid. - Alumni Cantabrigienses. A Biographical List of all Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900 (Cambridge, 1922-7), pt.1, vol.4 (1927), p.263 and Carlyle, p.186, but each mention can be traced back ultimately to Becker's biography. The single voice of disagreement is that of F. L. Cross, who, in three separate editions of The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, has maintained that Tremellius went to the University of Pavia. Given that these are two similarly named Italian cities, and that Becker is quoted as one of the sources for each of these articles, one must assume that this is merely an oversight, and that Padua is actually meant.

enrol formally, nor to obtain a degree, at least under normal circumstances;[24] it is to be expected, therefore, that there would be no trace of him in the matriculation records of the university.[25] A decade at the university would not have been inconceivable, but it is probably a little on the long side, especially for a non-matriculated student.

Friedrich Butters, however, has offered an alternative chronology.[26] He does not give specific dates, but it would appear that he believes that Tremellius remained in Ferrara until about 1540, at which point he moved on to Lucca.[27] Moreover, although he writes "Wir wissen auch nicht, wann, wo, wie, und warum er zur christlichen Religion übergetreten ist",[28] referring to his time in Ferrara, he later remarks "und ich glaube nicht zu viel zu behaupten, wenn ich die Sinnesänderung des Tremellius in diese Zeit fetze".[29] Butters postulates that the presence of Renée of France, a supporter of reform, who had married Duke Ercole in 1528, helped to shape the religious environment in which this could take place. Indeed, he even raises the possibility that Calvin himself, who visited Duchess Renée in 1535, might have played a part.[30] On the other hand, however, despite this prestigious cell of reform, its impact on the Jewish population must still have been limited: between 1531 and 1600, only 94 individuals are known to have converted from Judaism to any form of Christianity.[31]

Nonetheless, it is still quite possible that Tremellius remained in Ferrara beyond 1530. Almost certainly, he attended a university in Italy, and Ferrara did have one of its own, which had embraced the new learning.[32] A further alternative is that he attended a

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[24] Maria Rosa di Simone - 'Admission' in Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Ed.) - A History of the University in Europe, vol. II. Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800) (Cambridge, 1996, 1997), pp.294-5

[25] Only 80 Jews, of various 'nationalities' graduated between 1517 and 1619. See E. Veronese Ceseracciu - 'Ebrei laureati a Padova nel Cinquecento', in Quaderni per la storia dell' Università di Padova, 13 (1980), pp.151-68, quoted in di Simone - 'Admission', p.295

[26] Many other accounts simply omit the 1530s entirely, and move directly from Tremellius' origins in Ferrara to his conversion in Lucca.

[27] Butters, p.5

[28] Ibid., p.3

[29] Ibid., p.5

[30] Ibid., pp.4-5

[31] Shulvass - Jews in the World of the Renaissance, p.9

[32] The University of Ferrara had been founded in 1391. It was closed shortly thereafter, but had reopened in 1430. See Jacques Verger - 'Patterns' in Hilde de Ridder-Symoens - A History of the

university in another Italian city entirely, but such a hypothesis would also require some explanation as to why he then moved on to Padua. Consequently, Padua remains the most likely choice: not only was it one of the most welcoming of Jews,[33] but there is also independent evidence which locates Tremellius there at the end of the decade. The most convincing explanation is that he left Ferrara for Padua sometime in the middle of the 1530s, and that he studied at the university, although not as a matriculated student. It is most likely that he pursued a course in classical studies himself.[34] Again, his later activities would support this view; conversely, his writings give no indication of any particular facility on his part for legal, medical or philosophical matters, all renowned schools within the university.[35]

Evidently, he was soon enjoying exalted company. Among his Christian friends, moreover, it would seem he could count Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, who would shortly become Pope Paul III in 1534. This association can be traced back to an anonymous work of 1581, the Specularius contra Genebrardum, which was written as a defence of Tremellius' translation of the New Testament from Syriac, against the allegations of plagiarism from Gilbert Genebrard, a renowned professor of Hebrew at the Sorbonne.[36] The work has often been attributed to Tremellius himself, although its date would mean that it was published posthumously; more likely, perhaps, is that it was produced by one of his close associates, such as Franciscus Junius, with whom Tremellius had collaborated in the production of his version of the Old Testament.[37] This short work takes the form of a dialogue between Tremellius and Genebrard, in which they discuss a variety of issues pertinent to the latter's charges. At one point in

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University in Europe, vol. I. Universities in the Middle Ages (Cambridge etc., 1992), p.64

[33] di Simone - 'Admission', p.295

[34] Carlyle, p.186

[35] On Padua University during this period, see, for instance, Jonathan Woolfson - Padua and the Tudors. English Students in Italy, 1485-1603 (Cambridge, 1998)

[36] [Franciscus Junius ?] - Specularius, Dialogus pernecessarius, quo se Immanuel Tremellius purgat ab illis criminationibus, quas Gilbertus Genebrardus Theologus Parisiensis divinarum & Hebraicarum literarum Professor Regius, ipsi in Chronographia, seu universae historiae speculo intulerat (Neapoli Nemetum, 1581). For a fuller discussion of this controversy, see Chapter five of this thesis on Tremellius' New Testament.

[37] Beyond issues of chronology, I am inclined to feel that Tremellius' non-combative nature would have made him reluctant to take responsibility for this kind of work himself.

their discussion, presumably intending to establish his credentials, the character of Tremellius is made to say:

> Quamobrem etiam celebris ille Furnesius [sic] Cardinalis Romae, vestrarum (ut scis historiographe) id est, Gallicarum partium studiosissimus, me Iudaeum genere ante annos quinquaginta in familiam suam asciverat, cum ad Christianos primum transivi certa religionis ductus conscientia: idemq mihi ad eam veritatis doctrinam praeluxit...[38]

One must be careful when handling this source. Its unknown author offers neither a date for these events, nor a location. The fact that he refers to Farnese as a Cardinal would suggest that their meeting occurred before his elevation to the Pontificate; in that event, it would indicate that Tremellius had left Ferrara by 1533/4 at the very latest. On the other hand, one cannot be sure that the meeting took place in Padua; Rome would be the most obvious alternative, but it theoretically might have taken place anywhere in Italy. Moreover, the fact that this quotation comes from a work in which a close supporter of Tremellius, like Junius, is writing against a critic, means that the possibility of fabrication cannot be overlooked. In order to prove the credibility of his Christianity, Tremellius could hardly have picked a more respectable witness than a future Pope!

Yet, at the same time, Tremellius had not stayed for long within the Catholic Church, and the connection with Farnese could have been damaging to his reputation as a Protestant. Furthermore, while there was relatively little to be gained by inventing this connection, there was the risk that his other arguments might be undermined, if this claim could be disproved. In selecting a figure with as high a public profile as Pope Paul III, there was a strong chance that any false claims would be challenged. For all these reasons, then, it would seem that the account provided here is entirely plausible. At the same time, it is still striking that a future Pope should have been responsible for Tremellius' introduction to Christianity and possibly his conversion; one must imagine that it was the quality of Tremellius' scholarship which brought him to the attention of Farnese in the first place.

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38 [Junius ?] - Specularius, Dialogus pernecessarius, pp.10-11

Tremellius also made Cardinal Reginald Pole's acquaintance at some point during this decade.[39] Pole, a cousin of Henry VIII, had himself studied at Padua during the 1520s, and he returned there in 1532, following his flight from England in January of that year. Over the next eight or nine years, Pole made regular visits to Venice and Rome, becoming a cardinal in 1536, and serving on the commission which produced the Consilium de emendanda ecclesia, as well as travelling to Liège, Carpentras, and the courts of Charles V and Francis I. Nonetheless, Padua remained one of his principal bases during this period.[40]

In a story which may well come from Tremellius himself, it would seem that Pole also played a significant role in Tremellius' religious development. In De Antiquitate Britannicae, which is a history of the seventy archbishops of Canterbury, probably written at least under the auspices of the seventieth holder of that office, Matthew Parker, if not by the archbishop himself, the following incident is recorded:

> Frequens fuit ad Reginaldum Polum Evangelicorum concursus, & Antonii Flaminii consuetudo, tum Immanuelis Tremellii doctissimi viri, qui a Judaica pertinacia ad Christum in Poli familia conversus & contra Pontificiam doctrinam edoctus fuit, ac Evangelica dogmata ibidem hausit, nec non a Polo & Flaminio in baptismo intra domesticos Poli parietes susceptus est.[41]

Pastore suggests that this story was inserted into the second edition of the work by John Joscelyn (the work has generally been attributed to him in subsequent writings about

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[39] On Pole, see especially Thomas F. Mayer - Reginald Pole. Prince and Prophet (Cambridge, 2000). See also Mayer's various articles, including 'Reginald Pole in Paolo Giovio's 'Descriptio': A Strategy for Reconversion' in SCJ 16 (1985), pp.431-50; 'If Martyrs are to be Exchanged with Martyrs: The Kidnappings of William Tyndale and Reginald Pole' in ARG 81 (1990), pp.286-308; and 'When Maecenas was Broke: Cardinal Pole's "Spiritual" Patronage' in SCJ 27 (1996), pp.419-35. Also helpful are Paolo Simoncelli - Il Caso Reginaldo Pole: Eresia e Santita nelle polemiche religiose del Cinquecento (Rome, 1977), John P. Marmion - 'Cardinal Pole in Recent Studies' in Recusant History 13 (1975-6), pp.56-61, Dermot Fenlon - Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy: Cardinal Pole and the Counter-Reformation (London, 1972) and Wilhelm Schenk - Reginald Pole, Cardinal of England (London, New York and Toronto, 1950)

[40] Mayer - Reginald Pole, chapter 2 passim; Fenlon - Heresy and Obedience, pp.28-44; Schenk - Reginald Pole chapters 3-5 passim

[41] [Matthew Parker ?] - De Antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae & Privilegiis Ecclesiae, cum Archiepiscopis eiusdem 70 (London, 1572), p.410.

Tremellius which have quoted this source[42]) of 1605, but as it also appears in the original edition of 1572, this cannot be the case.[43] The authorship of the work remains uncertain, but it is still possible that either Joscelyn or George Acworth, Parker's colleagues, both of whom had in fact been educated in Padua, was responsible for the inclusion of this anecdote. Mayer, however, suggests that it was most likely that Tremellius told it directly to Parker, perhaps on his visit to England in 1565. In fact, it would surely make more sense that Tremellius explained the circumstances to Parker during their first meetings, sometime around 1550.[44]

Regardless of the means by which this story found inclusion in De Antiquitate Britannicae, it remains perplexing. It is contained in what Mayer has recently considered one of the most negative accounts of Pole to emerge from the sixteenth century.[45] The mention of conversion rather conflicts with the evidence of the Specularius contra Genebrardum, where Farnese is credited with that role. Perhaps both were involved, at different stages, in drawing Tremellius away from Judaism to Christianity, although there is the further suggestion here that Tremellius was introduced to Protestantism by Pole and Flaminio.[46] Either way, if Pole were responsible for his baptism, presumably his encounter with Tremellius occurred once the latter had met with Farnese. Indeed, it is conceivable that Farnese was himself responsible for introducing the two to each other. Unfortunately, however, the evidence does not allow for any definite conclusions to be made about these connections.

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[42] e.g. Paul Colomies - 'Immanuel Tremellius' in Ibid. - Italia et Hispania Orientalis, sive Italorum et Hispanorum qui linguam Hebraeam vel alias orientales excoluerunt vitae... editae et notis instructae a Jo. Christophoro Wolfio (Hamburg, 1730), p.111 and Johann Georg Schelhorn - Amoenitates Historiae Ecclesiasticae et Literariae, etc. (2 vols., Frankfurt and Lipsiae, 1733-8), vol.1, p.148

[43] Alessandro Pastore - Marcantonio Flaminio. Fortune e Sfortune di un Chierico nell'Italia del Cinquecento (Milan, 1981), p.70. Pastore appears to have misinterpreted Becker, p.7

[44] Mayer - Reginald Pole, p.55 n. allows for the possibility that the exchange of news might have occurred before 1565, but my feeling is that this is the more likely. News of Pole's subsequent treatment of Tremellius (see below), however, was presumably conveyed at the later date.

[45] Mayer - Reginald Pole, p.363

[46] This idea will be more fully considered in Chapter two.

The mention of Flaminio is also confusing. According to the traditional account, Tremellius moved to Lucca at some point during 1541, but greater accuracy on this issue is difficult to provide. Flaminio only joined Pole at Viterbo, but not all historians are agreed that Tremellius went there, let alone that his conversion took place there. Nonetheless, as we will see below, it seems beyond doubt that Tremellius and Flaminio did know each other;[47] it is most logical that Pole had been responsible for introducing them. The Pope conferred on Pole the governorship of the 'Patrimonium Petri', the oldest of the Papal states, on 13 August 1541;[48] the Cardinal made his official entry into Viterbo on 14 September.[49] Peter Martyr Vermigli had only been appointed prior of the monastery which Tremellius would join in May of that year, and departed in August 1542.[50] Not only would Martyr have been keen to obtain a teacher of Hebrew as soon after his appointment as possible, but also Tremellius must have spent a reasonable period of time in Lucca to have imbibed Martyr's Protestant teachings as fully as he did. Both factors would suggest that even if it did not coincide with Pole's move to Viterbo, Tremellius' progression to Lucca occurred in the second half of 1541, or, at the very latest, early in 1542.

It was in Lucca that Tremellius obtained his first teaching post, at the rich and influential monastery of San Frediano. Given that he seems to have begun teaching almost immediately, it is likely that his appointment had been decided upon before he arrived. For this reason, the frequently-made suggestion that Cardinal Pole had recommended him to Peter Martyr Vermigli, the new prior, remains quite plausible.[51] McNair further postulates that Martyr and Pole remained in contact while Martyr was prior, either by visits or letter, since, with the death of Juan de Valdés, and Cardinal Gasparo Contarini dying, "Pole was the spiritual leader of Evangelism in Italy".[52] Moreover, there was a newer relationship to be consolidated: Tremellius must have felt

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47 See below for the discussion of the letter which Flaminio sent in 1545 mentioning Tremellius.
48 Mayer - Reginald Pole, p.113
49 Schenk - Reginald Pole, p.71
50 McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy, p.206 and p.224
51 e.g. Becker, p. 8; McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy, p.224
52 McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy, p.285

strongly indebted to the older man, while Pole would likely have felt responsible for his protégé.

The Republic of Lucca at this time enjoyed a considerable degree of both civil and ecclesiastical independence.[53] Its government was oligarchical in nature, consisting of patrician 'Anziani' or Senators. At the same time, while Lucca was renowned as an exceptionally 'religious' city, and although it was always a member of the Catholic church, as McNair notes, "there was a certain lay quality about its religion which enjoyed a measure of independence from the Roman hierarchy".[54] Between 1517 and 1546, the bishop of Lucca was Francesco Sforza Riario, who retired to Florence not long after his accession, apparently because of the hostility of the Cathedral canons towards him.[55] During the thirty years of his episcopate, his city is reckoned by various scholars to have become the home to more converts to Protestantism than any other location in Italy,[56] yet Riario seems to have remained indifferent. In the absence of an effective bishop, therefore, the Senators took upon themselves many of his roles, not least that of seeking to reform the seriously corrupt clergy.

Peter Martyr had been elected prior of San Frediano in May 1541.[57] As we will investigate more fully in the next chapter, by the time he came to Lucca, Martyr was thoroughly imbued with Protestant opinions. His association with the Spanish exile, Juan de Valdés, in Naples towards the end of the 1530s, in particular, had done much to

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53 On Lucca, see especially Adorni-Braccessi - «Una Città Infetta», and Ibid. - 'Religious Refugees from Lucca in the Sixteenth-Century: Political Strategies and Religious Proselytism' in ARG 88 (1997), pp.338-79

54 McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy, p.208

55 He only returned to Lucca briefly in September 1541 for the Summit Meeting, discussed below, because he had no choice in the matter.

56 e.g. Nicolas Barker - 'The Perils of Publishing in the Sixteenth Century: Pietro Bizari and William Parry, Two Elizabethan Misfits' in Edward Chaney and Peter Mack (Eds.) - England and the Continental Renaissance. Essays in Honour of J. B. Trapp (Woodbridge, 1990), p.125, who describes Lucca as "the stronghold of reform in Italy", Thomas M'Crie - History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy in the Sixteenth Century. Including a Sketch of the History of the Reformation in the Grisons (Edinburgh and London, 1833), p.152; most recently, see Salvatore Caponetto - The Protestant Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Italy trans. Anne C. Tedeschi and John Tedeschi (Kirksville, Missouri, 1999), p.275 ff.

57 He was elected at the Chapter General of the Lateran Congregation which took place at Cremona. See McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy, p.206

broaden his religious outlook.[58] Yet his appointment rested more on his fame as a reformer of morals; the monastery of San Frediano had, by this point, gained a scandalous reputation. When Martyr became prior, his influence was substantial not only because this position gave him authority within the monastery, but also because it conferred episcopal authority over half the city of Lucca. As McNair has suggested, "the coming of Martyr opened a new chapter in the history of the city".[59] Indeed, he even contends that Martyr came to fill the role left vacant by Riario, as a kind of bishop-figure.[60] In this way, McNair seeks to explain the personal ascendancy which Martyr enjoyed over Lucca during his 15-month tenure. Martyr's activities in Lucca have come down to us especially in the account of his contemporary biographer, Josias Simler.[61] Following his account, historians from the seventeenth century have, almost without fail, attributed the spread of the Reformation in Lucca to the activities of Martyr and his companions, among whom Tremellius is generally included.[62]

However, it is Martyr's activities within San Frediano which concern us principally here. In June, he assigned his Canons to the chapels within the monastery, and thereafter began to re-order the life of the community, through both moral and educational reform. From within his monastery, he developed a programme of education whose impact was ultimately felt in Lucca as a whole.[63] To this end, he assembled around himself a gifted group of individuals to provide instruction to those in his care. Paolo Lacizi from Verona, who also became vicar, taught Latin. His learning

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58 On Martyr and Juan de Valdés, see, for instance, McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy, pp.139-79, and Frank A. James III - 'Juan de Valdés before and after Peter Martyr Vermigli: The Reception of Gemina Praedestinatio in Valdés' Later Thought' in ARG 83 (1992), pp.180-208

59 McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy, p.216

60 McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy, p.217

61 See McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy, pp. xiv-xv, for a discussion of Simler as a source for the life of Martyr.

62 Antonio Caracciolo, the papal biographer, wrote, in the early seventeenth century, that "Lucca fu molto appestata di questo morbo, perciocchè in quella città tenerro scuola Pietro Martire, dopo che si fuggè da Napoli, e vi ebbe per compagni il Tremellio Ferrarese, lettore de lingua ebrea, Celso Martinengo lettore di lingua Greca, Paolo Lazisio veronese lettore de Latina, e costoro vi trovarono Girolamo Zanco, tutti pessimi heretici..." Compendium Inquisitorum, reprinted in La Rivista Cristiana, (Florence, 1876) p. 133; also quoted in M. Young - The Life and Times of Aonio Paleario or A History of the Italian Reformers of the Sixteenth Century. Illustrated by Original Documents and Letters (2 vols., London, 1860), p.412 n.

63 Caponetto - Protestant Reformation, p.278

in all three of the ancient languages was highly regarded by his contemporaries, including Martin Bucer and Heinrich Bullinger, while he was also judged to be one of the foremost evangelicals of the Italian Reformation by Celio Secundo Curione.[64] Count Massimiliano Celso Martinenghi, from Brescia, later the first pastor of the Italian Church in Geneva, also a canon, taught Greek. Immanuel Tremellius, meanwhile, taught Hebrew. In addition, Girolamo Zanchi from Bergamo, who would go on to experience almost as varied a career in Reformed circles as Tremellius, was, in 1541, a public preacher and a canon.[65] Tremellius was clearly working within prestigious company. Indeed, McNair goes so far as to describe the monastery of San Frediano as "the first and last reformed theological college in pre-Tridentine Italy - a miniature but brilliant university with Martyr as its rector".[66] As Caponetto comments, moreover, Martyr's educational program was specifically intended to teach Hebrew, Latin and Greek so that the Holy Scriptures could be read in its original languages.[67] The remainder of Tremellius' career was devoted to the pursuit of this same goal.

One issue of some contention relating to Tremellius' time at Lucca concerns whether he ever took orders.[68] The other individuals just mentioned - Martyr, Lacizi, Martinenghi and Zanchi - were all professed members of the Lateran Congregation. With good reason, then, it should be asked whether Tremellius was able to occupy as important a position in San Frediano as one of the three principal teachers, while remaining outside that order. McNair emphasises that Tremellius was not mentioned in the list of 19 canons assigned by Martyr in San Frediano in June 1541, before arguing that "it seems unlikely - *pace* Simler - that he was ever in religious orders at all."[69] He also quotes the opinions of the nineteenth-century Italian historians, Salvatore Bongi and Giovanni Sforza, in support of this view.

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64 McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy, pp.222 and 225-6 for these various commendations.
65 On Zanchi, see Christopher J. Burchill - 'Girolamo Zanchi: Portrait of a Reformed Theologian and His Work' in SCJ 15 (1984), pp.185-207
66 McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy, p.221
67 Caponetto - Protestant Reformation, p.278
68 c.f the discussion of this issue in relation to Valdés, in José C. Nieto - 'Was Juan de Valdés an ordained priest?' in BHR 32 (1970), pp.603-6
69 McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy, p.224

These four sources require to be examined in turn. First, Tremellius' name is absent from the June list of Canons.[70] As we have just seen, it is most likely that Tremellius parted company with Pole in about September. Consequently, we should hardly expect to see his name appear in the list of allocations made three months earlier. Similarly, Simler's silence on this matter should not be overemphasised. He mentions Tremellius twice in his biography of Martyr, first in conjunction with Lacizi and Martinenghi,[71] and secondly with Martinenghi and Zanchi.[72] On neither occasion does he allude to the canonical status of any of these figures; indeed, it would surely have been more striking had he singled out Tremellius for special mention in this regard.

Bongi, writing in the late nineteenth century, and commenting on the same document as McNair, had earlier noticed the absence of any mention of Tremellius. He remarks "tantoche si dovrebbe concludere, che se esso fu, come affermano molti libri, uno dei compagni di Pietro Martire Vermigli in Lucca, non appartenne al Monastero di S. Frediano".[73] Sforza, writing shortly after Bongi also refers back to the document from the Lucchese archives. In a footnote to explain who Tremellius was, he writes "Sebbene fosse uno de' compagni piu fidati del Vermigli, non apparteneva esso ai Canonici Lateranensi di S. Frediano. Forse era ascritto egli Agostiniani."[74] These two seem just as speculative as McNair on this point, and hardly confirm his argument, although he does refer to them as if they did.

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70 The list of canons is given in McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy, pp.219-220.

71 "Nam primum hoc curavit ut in tribus linquis adulescentes erudirentur quam diligentissime, & Latinam quidem docebat Paulus Lacisius Veronensis, Graecam Celsus ex illustri Comitum Martinengorum familia, Hebraeam Emanuel Tremellius", Josias Simler - Oratio de Vita et Obitu Clarrissimi Viri et Praestantissimi Theologi D. Petri Martyris Vermilii... (Zürich, 1563), p.8v

72 "...inter quos fuere vir nobilissimus Celsus Martinengus, qui Genevae ecclesiae Italicae magna cum laude praefuit, & D. Hieronymus Zanchus qui nunc sacras literas in celebri Argentinensi schola docet. Emanuel item Tremellius celeberrimus Hebraicae linguae interpres". Simler - Oratio de Vita, p. 9r

73 Salvatore Bongi - Inventario del R. Archivio di Stato di Lucca. Documenti degli archivi Toscani (4 vols., Lucca, 1872-88), vol.4, p.148

74 Giovanni Sforza - 'Un episodo poco noto della vita di Aonio Paleario' in Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana, vol. 14 (1889), p.57

Thus, it would appear that Tremellius arrived in Lucca some months after the allocation of Chapters within the monastery. While he would likely have assumed his teaching position almost immediately, it is less probable that there would have been any religious position available for him in the short term. In any case, given that he had only converted from Judaism a matter of months previously, it is unlikely that Tremellius would have expected, or been suited to, a post which involved the cure of souls. The fact that he had no previous association with the Laterans, unlike any of the others who occupied these posts, is a further reason against this. Finally, the fact that all historians from Simler's time, up to the present day, have failed to uncover any shred of evidence that Tremellius was either a Canon, or held even a lowly administrative position within the Congregation, should warn one against such a conclusion. McNair is probably right when he suggests that Tremellius stayed at San Frediano for at least some of his time in Lucca.[75] If only for the practical reasons of being near to his students and being able to associate with his fellow teachers, particularly Martyr, one must imagine that Tremellius took a room within the monastery, without ever becoming a full member of the Lateran Congregation.

Depending on exactly when Tremellius arrived in Lucca, he may have been present for the Summit Meeting of Pope Paul III and the Emperor Charles V, which took place there in September 1541. Paul III made his state entry on 8 September, while the Emperor made his on the 12th. Charles was the first to leave on 18 September, followed by the Pope two days later. As we have already seen, Pole was informed of his appointment on 13 August, but did not move to Viterbo until 14 September. If Tremellius left him between these dates, he would have arrived in Lucca in time for this Summit. Various issues were discussed during the course of this meeting, including the failure of the Diet of Regensburg (Ratisbon), the possibility of war between the Empire and France, and the desirability of convening a Council of the Catholic Church. McNair contends that it is "unthinkable" that Martyr and the Pope did not speak to each other,

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[75] McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy, p.224

during the latter's stay of twelve days, although there is no record of this.[76] The same could surely be said of Paul III and Tremellius, if the latter had already moved there: after all, as we have already seen, according to Tremellius' own testimony, the pair had been close friends before Farnese's elevation to the pontificate, and since their first meeting, Tremellius had become a Catholic. More likely still is that Tremellius would have met with Cardinal Gasparo Contarini and Tommaso Badia, Master of the Sacred Palace, both of whom stayed in the monastery of San Frediano while in Lucca.[77] Yet all of this is contingent on Tremellius' arriving in the city in the first fortnight of September 1541; one cannot discount the possibility that he arrived some time after this event.

Josias Simler also records Martyr's religious activities during these months. Every day, he notes, Martyr publicly expounded a passage from the Epistles of St. Paul, and every evening before supper, interpreted a Psalm.[78] He was without doubt expressing Protestant views by this time; the writings of Philip Melanchthon, Martin Bucer, Heinrich Bullinger and John Calvin are all believed to have been in circulation within his coterie.[79] At the same time, he was perhaps less outspoken than he had been in Naples; unlike his time there in the late 1520s, there was no condemnation of his preaching at Lucca as heterodox.[80] Nonetheless, his spiritual programme was clearly highly successful. During the winter of 1541/2, Martyr built up a sizeable group of supporters which included some of the leading citizens of the town.[81] Indeed, on 21 April 1542, the Senators of Lucca even wrote to the 'definitori' of the Lateran Congregation, in the hope that Martyr might be permitted to remain there.[82] His predecessor, Tommaso de Piacenza, by contrast, had been removed from office after only a year. Martyr's impact inside the monastery was even more pronounced: within

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[76] Ibid., p.233
[77] Ibid., p.233
[78] Simler - Oratio de Vita, 8v
[79] McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy, p.231
[80] Ibid., p.217 and p.164 ff.
[81] Ibid., p.235 ff.; Caponetto - Protestant Reformation, p.278
[82] McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy pp.236-7

the space of a year of his departure from Lucca, 18 of the fellows of San Frediano left not only the College, but also the Catholic Church. Among these were Martinenghi, Zanchi and Tremellius, who underwent his second conversion in as many years.

However, just as scholarship has shown that Martyr's encounter with Juan de Valdés in Naples was one characterised by reciprocity, the same may probably be said of his relationship with Tremellius in Lucca.[83] While Martyr certainly brought Tremellius to embrace Protestantism, it has also been suggested that Tremellius helped Martyr to improve his Hebrew. Newman says that Martyr was led to take up Hebrew because of his interest in theology, and indeed that his first teacher had been a Jew.[84] That Martyr already knew Hebrew in 1540 is confirmed by Cardinal Girolamo Aleandro who reported that Contarini (via Flaminio) had praised Martyr's theological learning and his knowledge of the three classical languages.[85] Newman goes on to state quite categorically that, as prior in Lucca, Martyr "studied Hebrew under the Jew, Emmanuel Tremellius".[86] Although this is a plausible contention, Newman quotes no evidence to substantiate his claim. McNair is perhaps a little over the top when he writes: "...if the Jew opened up the Gentile's understanding of the letter of the Old Testament, the Gentile, in his turn, opened up the Jew's understanding of the spirit of the New".[87]

More recently, Shute whose thesis deals with Martyr and Hebrew, has been keen to play down Tremellius' role in all of this, arguing (following Simler) that Martyr had earlier encountered another Jewish teacher, a certain Isaac in Bologna, and also noting that Martyr would have had various printed resources to hand, such as Sante Pagnini's lexicon and Johann Reuchlin's grammar.[88] He contends that this would have been enough for someone as intelligent as Martyr to acquire a high level of proficiency in

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83 On Martyr and Valdés, see Chapter two of this thesis.
84 Louis Israel Newman - Jewish Influences on Christian Reform Movements (New York, 1925), p.505
85 Ibid., p.198
86 Ibid., p.505
87 McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy, p.224
88 My thanks to Dan Shute for corresponding with me on this point, and for forwarding to me the relevant passages from his thesis.

Hebrew. As I have already mentioned, however, Newman and McNair were not unaware of this earlier teacher, although it is possible that they underestimate his contribution. It is surely quite reasonable to suggest that although he may already have been quite competent in Hebrew when he came to Lucca, Martyr was also happy to turn to his in-house expert whenever he encountered problems, and more generally that these two members of the teaching staff would have discussed a whole range of matters.

There is also a possibility that Tremellius began his writing career while still in Italy, although there are problems here. Most writers have passed over this work, but Ney in an article of 1908, and McNair who follows him, ascribe to Tremellius a work, simply entitled Meditamenta.[89] This work, Ney claims, was published in Wittenberg in 1541. Meanwhile, the online catalogue of the library of the University of Munich, contains a reference to a work written by Tremellius, with the same publication details, but with the title Rudimenta linguae Hebraeae eorumque praxis et syntax.[90] The titles are close enough to suggest that these may refer to the same thing, as would their identical provenance. Even so, while this kind of work sounds exactly the sort of thing a young academic might publish in order to establish his credentials as a teacher of Hebrew, the publication details do not square with what it known of Tremellius' biography. At around this time, he was in Padua, Viterbo and Lucca, but not Germany. As far as we know, he had no connections outside Italy at this stage, and a Hebrew grammar was hardly so controversial that it would require publication in another country. It may well be, therefore, that this work is not quite what it seems.

In the summer of 1542, Tremellius' existence in Lucca became untenable. For, on 21 July of that year, by the bull 'Licet ab initio', Pope Paul III revived the Roman Inquisition. In part, Tremellius may have considered that his own views took him outside the boundaries of what was acceptable to the Catholic Church (although it was

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89 Ney (1908), p.95; McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy, p.224

90 I am grateful to Stephen Burnett who recently drew my attention to an edition of this work held in Munich. He shares my scepticism as to whether this work is what it claims. I have unfortunately not yet been able to consult the work myself.

not until the Council of Trent that Catholic orthodoxy came firmly to be established); more likely is that Tremellius realised that his close association with Martyr left him in a compromised position. Martyr was shortly called to Rome, it is presumed to stand trial for heresy;[91] rather than go, he chose to leave Italy, as did Tremellius. It is surely somewhat paradoxical that it should have been Paul III, who had first drawn Tremellius towards Christianity, who was ultimately responsible for driving him into exile.

In August, Martyr fled Italy with three of his colleagues: his vicar Lacizi, Giulio Santerenziano, and a certain Teodosio Trebellius, whom a number of historians have confused with Tremellius.[92] This was of course primarily because of the similarity of their names, but also because they all shared the same destination. Nevertheless, Simler made it quite clear in his biography that Martyr's companion was Trebellius.[93] This individual may well have been Teodosio da Cremona, one of the Canons of Santa Maria di Fregionaia.[94] In any case, it would seem that Tremellius did not leave Italy in the company of Martyr.

Nevertheless, Tremellius may well have followed at least a similar, if not the same, route from Lucca to Strasbourg. Travelling via Pisa, Martyr took temporary refuge near Florence in the Badia Fiesolana, the monastery in which he was professed, from where he addressed a letter to the church at Lucca explaining the reasons for his flight.[95] In Florence, Martyr also met Bernardino Ochino, whom he persuaded to leave Italy. Ochino moved first, followed by Martyr two days later. From Florence he moved to

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91 McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy, p.263ff.

92 e.g. Daniel Gerdes - 'Emanuel Tremellius' in Ibid. - Specimen Italiae Reformatae, sive observata quaedam ad historiam renati in Italia tempore reformationis evangelii, una cum syllabo, Reformatorum Italorum (Lyon, 1765), p.341; Charles Henry Cooper and Thompson Cooper - 'John Emmanuel Tremellius' in Ibid. - Athenae Cantabrigienses, vol.1 (Cambridge, 1858), p.425; Carlyle p.186, Frederick Corss Church - The Italian Reformers, 1534-1564 (New York, 1932), p. 69; C. H. Smyth - Cranmer and the Reformation Under Edward VI (London, 1973) p.113, and even G. Lloyd Jones - The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language (Manchester, 1983), p.50. While some of these authors have clearly confused the two names, others simply assume that Tremellius travelled with Martyr. McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy p.224 and p.271 resolves this matter.

93 Simler - Oratio de Vita, 9v

94 McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy, p. 271

95 c.f. Marvin Anderson - Peter Martyr, A Reformer in Exile (1542-1562). A Chronology of Biblical Writings in England and Europe (Nieuwkoop, 1975), p. 75

Bologna, Ferrara and Verona, before finally entering Switzerland through the Rhetian Alps. He then stopped in Zürich, where he was welcomed by Heinrich Bullinger, Conrad Pellican and Rudolph Gualter, ministers of the Swiss church; since there was no office vacant for him, he moved on to Basle. Martyr resided there for a month, until he was invited to Strasbourg by Lacizi, who had preceded him there.[96] Here he met Martin Bucer, through whose influence he was appointed Professor of Theology, following the death of Wolfgang Capito in December 1542.[97]

Wilhelm Becker describes Tremellius' flight in heroic terms, as one might expect from his hagiographic account: he insists that Tremellius did not fear death, and was willing to undergo suffering, even martyrdom, to remain in Italy, but that his friends did eventually manage to persuade him to leave.[98] This scene appears rather too much like a rhetorical trope, intended to persuade the reader of the strength of Tremellius' conversion, to be taken at all seriously, but it is still true that Tremellius left Lucca at this time. To have followed Martyr's route would certainly have appealed: Ferrara was not on the most direct route, but it would have allowed Tremellius to bid farewell to his family. He would never return to Italy (although he may not have known this at the time), so it was the last occasion on which such a meeting might have been possible. On the other hand, his conversion to Christianity might have hindered such a meeting: we do not know whether his family or community were in any way supportive of him once he had converted away from Judaism. Zürich, on the other hand, would probably have been on his route. A meeting between the Christian-Hebraist and the Zurichers would surely have been mutually rewarding. In any case, Tremellius must have arrived in Strasbourg at around the end of 1542 or the start of 1543.[99]

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96 For this journey see Joseph C. McLelland - The Visible Words of God. An Exposition of the Sacramental Theology of Peter Martyr Vermigli AD 1500-1562 (Edinburgh and London, 1957), pp. 9-10

97 On Capito, see James M. Kittelson Wolfgang Capito. From Humanist to Reformer (Leiden, 1975)

98 Becker, p. 10

99 On Strasbourg in this period, see especially Lorna Jane Abray - The People's Reformation. Magistrates, Clergy and Commons in Sixteenth-Century Strasbourg, 1500-1598 (Ithaca, New York, 1985), Thomas A. Brady - Ruling Class, Regime and Reformation at Strasbourg, 1520-1555 (Leiden, 1978) and Miriam U. Chrisman - Strasbourg and the Reform: A Study in the Process of Change (New Haven and London, 1967)

There is one final element to this flight worth mentioning. An inscription in the flyleaf of a work, now known as 'The Basle Nizzahon' and held in Basle's University Library, bears Tremellius' name, and indicates that he brought this work with him when he migrated from Lucca to Strasbourg: "Fuit hic liber Immanuelis Tremellii, et ab eo ex Italia allatus est".[100] In fact, however, this may well have been written by another Christian-Hebraist, Johannes Buxtorf (1564-1629).[101] According to other indications on the flyleaf, the work passed from Tremellius to Samuel Hortin, and then on to Johannes Buxtorf in 1623. It finally entered the care of the library of the university of Basle in 1705.[102] This work consists primarily of two series of numbered paragraphs, the first on the Hebrew Scriptures and Christians objections to them, and the second on the New Testament and ecclesiastical teaching.[103] Given Tremellius' position as a Jewish convert to Christianity, it is interesting to note that he should have taken a work relating to Jewish-Christian controversy. Presumably he brought other works with him - as an academic he would have been dependent on them - but practical considerations must have obliged him to limit their number to only the most important.

It is unclear whether Tremellius maintained any ties with Italy. Certainly, he did not return there, so direct personal contact was restricted to those who joined him in exile. However, some level of communication by letter remains entirely possible. The only known surviving letter which might support this contention is, however, somewhat problematic. It was written by Marcantonio Flaminio from Trent on 28 November 1545 to an individual, Antonio Pavaranzo, who is otherwise unknown.[104] Flaminio ends his

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100 W. Horbury - 'The Basle Nizzahon' in Journal of Theological Studies N.S. 34 (1983), p.501

101 On Johannes Buxtorf, see Stephen G. Burnett - From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies. Johannes Buxtorf (1564-1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth Century (Leiden, New York and Cologne, 1996)

102 In fact, it would seem that the Basle Nizzahon was one of several works to have followed this path of ownership, although it may be the only one to have originated from Italy. Also in the Basle University Library, and known to have been owned by Tremellius, are part of the Talmud, and Jehuda ibn Balam - Brevis Tractatus de Accentibus trium librorum, Job, Proverbiorum & Psalmorum (Paris, 1556). The Talmud was bought by Johannes Hortin in 1583; Balam's work was bought by Johannes and Jacob Hortin in 1580. I am most grateful to Stephen Burnett for passing on all this information to me.

103 Horbury - 'Basle Nizzahon', p.500-1

104 Marcantonio Flaminio to Antonio Pavaranzo, 28 November 1545, Alessandro Pastore (Ed.) -

letter with the comment: "...et vi priego a salutar per mio nome il nostro carissimo M. Emanuello".[105] Not least because of the uncertainty regarding the recipient of the letter, the identification of Tremellius with the name 'Emanuello' can, at best, only be regarded as probable.[106] Yet if this ascription can be considered accurate, then not only does it confirm that Flaminio and Tremellius had met, and indeed had become close friends ('carissimo'), but also that there was some level of contact between Italy and Switzerland. The letter implies that Pavaranzo is expected to see Tremellius which suggests that he, too, was living in, or nearby, Strasbourg.

Tremellius quickly found employment at the Gymnasium, or Academy, which had been established in Strasbourg in 1538 by Johann Sturm (1507-89), one of the leading figures associated with education in the Reformation period.[107] The organisation of the Academy has been described in greater detail elsewhere. Initially, the secondary school comprised six classes, from VI to I, which provided instruction in the classical languages; subsequently, two preparatory classes were also added. In addition, two Upper Classes provided the opportunity for advanced study in subjects such as theology, Greek, Hebrew, law and medicine.[108] From its inception, the Gymnasium was well-regarded, not least because of the calibre of the staff who worked there. While local men taught the Latin classes, scholars from throughout Europe taught the Upper Classes. By the middle of the century, the school had become truly international, drawing its members from countries as far apart as Holland and Italy. The theology

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Marcantonio Flaminio. Lettere Letter 51, pp.151-2. In a note on this letter, Pastore says of Pavaranzo, "Personaggio sconosciutto, ma che da questa lettera appare noto al Pole, al Priuli & ad Emanuele Tremellio".

105 Ibid., pp.152

106 This is certainly Pastore's conclusion.

107 On Sturm, see for instance Lewis W. Spitz and Barbara Sher Tinsley - Johann Sturm on Education. The Reformation and Humanist Learning (St. Louis, Missouri, 1995). See also the discussion of him in Chapter four of this thesis. Miriam U. Chrisman - Lay Culture, Learned Culture. Books and Social Change in Strasbourg, 1480-1599 (New Haven and London, 1982), p.309 mistakenly gives Tremellius' dates at the Academy as 1541-9. Carlyle is probably more accurate when he suggests that he took up his post towards the end of 1543.

108 e.g. Miriam U. Chrisman - Lay Culture, Learned Culture, pp.192-201. Also see Charles Engel - L'école Latine et l'Ancienne Académie de Strasbourg, 1538-1621 (Strasbourg and Paris, 1900) and Anton Schindling - Humanistische Hochschule und Freie Reichstadt, Gymnasium und Akademie in Strassburg, 1538-1621 (Weisbaden, 1977)

department was the largest within the Academy. Wolfgang Capito and John Calvin had taught there before Tremellius' arrival, but among his contemporaries there were Caspar Hedio, Martin Bucer, Peter Martyr Vermigli, Paul Fagius, and Johann Marbach. Teaching Hebrew alongside Tremellius was the Frenchman Michael Délius. In addition, Christopher Kerlin and Paulo Lacizi taught Greek, Christian Herlin taught mathematics, Ludwig Bebio and Kilian Vogler taught law, Justus Velsius, from Holland, taught philosophy, Sebald Hawenreuter taught medicine, and Johann Sturm taught rhetoric.[109]

Jones suggests that Tremellius earned only a meagre living as a teacher of Hebrew in Strasbourg.[110] His wage is unknown, but the life of an academic in the sixteenth century was rarely well rewarded. Moreover, it is recorded by a number of commentators that Tremellius received a prebend from St. Peter's, the Cathedral of Strasbourg, perhaps some time after he had joined the Academy.[111] This was one of the standard ways in which academics could have a regular and decent income; indeed, this was by no means the only such office that Tremellius held.[112] At the same time, as we have already seen, Tremellius held these posts even though he never entered religious orders himself.

Two further events of significance occurred during Tremellius' five-year tenure of his post in Strasbourg. First, in the summer of 1543, John Calvin and Guillaume Farel travelled there from Geneva, and stayed for about six weeks.[113] Calvin had, of course, spent three years in Strasbourg between 1538 and 1541, when he had been temporarily

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109 The names of scholars in this paragraph are principally drawn from Chrisman - Lay Culture, Learned Culture, Appendix B, pp.309-10. Some of the dates that she includes need to be treated with care, however.

110 Jones - Discovery of Hebrew, p.50

111 Carlyle, p.186 who quotes James Nasmith – Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum quos Collegio Corporis Christi... Legavit... Mattheus Parker (Cambridge, 1777), p. 112; Cooper and Cooper - 'John Emmanuel Tremellius', vol.1, p.425; Smyth - Cranmer and the Reformation, p.114; Herminjard - p. 342; Ney (1908), p.95

112 See Chapter four for a discussion of this theme.

113 Pierre Viret in Lausanne wrote to Guillaume Farel in Strasbourg on 19 May 1543. Herminjard - vol.8 no.1231

expelled from Geneva.[114] As mentioned above, the possibility exists that Tremellius had encountered Calvin in Ferrara, almost a decade previously. However, it is beyond reasonable doubt that Tremellius would have made the personal acquaintance of the Genevan reformers on this occasion. Although there is no explicit reference to such a meeting in their subsequent correspondence, other pieces of evidence from the 1540s make it quite clear that the two were aware of each other. Valerand Poullain mentioned Tremellius in two letters he wrote to Calvin in October 1544 and January 1545.[115] From these it is evident that Poullain expected Calvin to know whom he was talking about, even when he simply describes him as "Frater noster Emmanuel". Conversely, in a letter written to Calvin in April 1545 by the otherwise unknown Hilarius Guymonneus (he does not appear elsewhere in Calvin's correspondence, for instance), he says "Salutat te hospes meus D. Emmanuel et illius uxor".[116] Given that Guymonneus knew Calvin and was staying with Tremellius, he may well have been a student from Geneva. Either way, the message which he passes on suggests that Tremellius expected to be known by Calvin.

Secondly, in October 1544, Tremellius was married.[117] His wife remains an elusive figure, and numerous writers have been either vague or simply incorrect about her.[118] In fact, the only statement from the time that we have on the subject comes in one of the letters written by Poullain to Calvin, just mentioned. In it, he remarks: "Frater noster Emmanuel ducit in uxorem Elisabetham illam repudiatam M. Dominici, quibus proxima feria 4 benedicemus in Domino".[119] Additional information can also be gleaned from a work of Thomas Harding, the Warden of New College and the first holder of the Regius

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114 On this phase of Calvin's career see Cornelius Augustijn - 'Calvin in Strasbourg' in Wilhelm H. Neuser (Ed.) - Calvinus Sacrae Scripturae Professor. Calvin as Confessor of Holy Scripture (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1994), pp.166-77

115 Valerand Poullain to John Calvin, 13 October 1544 and 12 January 1545, C.O. 577 and 604 respectively.

116 Hilarius Guymonneus to John Calvin, 28 April 1545, C.O. 635

117 Carlyle p.187 mistakenly gives the date as October 1554.

118 Butters, p.12 writes "Wir wissen nicht, wen Tremellius zur Gattin wählte", while de le Roi - Die evangelische Christenheit, p.53 seems to have confused Tremellius' wife with that of Peter Martyr when he writes "...verheirathete er sich dort mit einer früheren Nonne aus Metz...".

119 Valerand Poullain to John Calvin, 13 October 1544, C.O. 577; Herminjard 1398. Herminjard, in a note on this letter, suggests that her full name is Elisabeth de Grunecieux.

Chair of Hebrew at Oxford. In his Reioindre to John Jewel of 1567, Harding describes the origins of Martyr's and Tremellius' respective wives:

> ...Peter Martyr the regular Chanon of S. Augustines order, who likewise yoked himself unto Dame Catherine the Nonne of Metz in Lorraine, that stale out of her cloister by night, and ranne away with an honest mans wife of Metz to Strasburg, which honest mans wife married to Emanuel the Iewe (that afterward came to Cambridge, and there read an Hebrue lesson) her husband being a live, as he tolde me the tale him selfe with weeping eyes at Metz, as I passed toward Italie through Lorraine.[120]

In the marginal comments relating to this passage, it is noted that the cuckolded husband was the Registrar of Metz.[121]

However, as McNair has argued, Harding's account deserves to be treated with a degree of scepticism.[122] First, the digression on Tremellius' wife comes within a longer discussion of clerical marriage. As I have mentioned above, Tremellius does not seem ever to have entered clerical orders, whereas Martyr, with whom he was closely associated, had. The arrival of Martyr's wife in Oxford, moreover, instigated a period of real tension for the reformer; the conservatives of England were highly resistant to the notion of a married clergy. Harding's criticism of Martyr spills over to include Tremellius, but as Tremellius was not a religious, it is possible that he developed additional information to undermine him as a representative of the Reformed cause as well. Furthermore, there may also be a more personal element to Harding's attack. In 1546, Harding became the first incumbent of the Regius Chair of Hebrew at Oxford; as will be discussed below, Tremellius came to occupy the equivalent post at Cambridge three years later. It is therefore conceivable that academic rivalry has also contributed to Harding's efforts to denigrate Tremellius in this way. The fact that, on various

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120 Thomas Harding – A Reioindre to M. Iewels Replie Against the Sacrifice of the Masse... (Louvain, 1567), 175A

121 On religious exiles in Strasbourg more generally, see Lorna Jane Abray - 'Joyful in Exile? French-Speaking Protestants in Sixteenth-Century Strasbourg' in Phillip N. Bebb and Sherrin Marshall (Eds.) - The Process of Change in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honor of Miriam Usher Chrisman (Athens, Ohio, 1988), pp.201-14

122 Philip M. J. McNair - 'Peter Martyr in England' in Joseph C. McLelland (Ed.) - Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform (Ontario, Canada, 1980), p.96 ff.

occasions, Tremellius and his wife were able to return to Metz without ever encountering hostility from her husband or any members of his family, would suggest that these details have no grounding in fact.

Elisabeth does occasionally appear in later letters, but the mentions of her are rarely revealing: ordinarily, she is simply mentioned in conjunction with Tremellius, often either sending or receiving good wishes with other correspondents.[123] It is not known when she died, nor even whether she outlived her husband. Tremellius was about 34 at the time of their marriage, while she had been married and had at least one daughter old enough to be married herself within eight years. Consequently it is likely that Tremellius was younger than his wife; as he had a long life, it would be surprising were she to live longer than him, but this must remain speculative.

Yet if information about Tremellius' wife is hard to come by, there is even less about their children. Butters makes no mention of any children whatsoever.[124] Becker, writing a little more than thirty years later, remarks that "Die Frau brachte aus ihrer ersten Ehe eine Tochter mit in die zweite, in welcher sie noch einer Tochter das Leben gab."[125] Meanwhile, Carlyle, in his article on Tremellius in the Dictionary of National Biography, adds yet another child to the equation: "...he married a widow named Elizabeth, an inhabitant of Metz, by whom he had two daughters and a son".[126] As we will see below, Antoine Chevallier would marry the daughter that Elisabeth brought with her into the marriage. The frequently-made suggestion that Franciscus Junius also became a son-in-law of Tremellius seems to be unfounded, however.[127] Finally, an Immanuel Tremellius junior, presumably a son of Tremellius by Elisabeth, appears in

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123 See Chapter three.
124 Butters, p.12
125 Becker, p.14
126 Carlyle, p.187
127 I am grateful to Dagmar Drull-Zimmerman who discussed this issue with me. Junius married on four occasions, but the names of each of his wives give no indication that they were related to Tremellius.

the matriculation records of Heidelberg University in 1561.[128] His likely age by this point makes it probable that he was born while Tremellius was still in Strasbourg.[129]

Towards the end of 1547, Tremellius' time in Strasbourg came to an end. Following his victory at Mühlberg in April 1547, over Hesse and Electoral Saxony, concluding the first Schmalkaldic War, Charles V imposed an 'Interim' religious settlement over those parts of Protestant Germany which submitted to him.[130] Although some concessions were made to the Protestants, the Interim, which came to be promulgated at the Diet of Augsburg in May 1548, brought about the full restoration of Catholic worship; the position of Protestants in Germany was seriously undermined. The Academy of Strasbourg was particularly badly hit: many of its leading teachers left shortly after.

At this point, there was a sudden flurry of interest in Tremellius, and various efforts to find employment for him. Calvin wrote to Pierre Viret, in August 1547, asking him to pass on to Tremellius his regret that, despite a strong recommendation from one Budé, there was not a suitable opening for him in Geneva:

> Budaeus vehementer a me contendit ut, si qua fuerit ratio accersendi Emanuelis, ad id agendum te incitarem. Non potest usui esse eius opera nisi in linguae hebraicae professione. Atqui locum tenet Imbertus. Tu, si nulla tibi expediatur ratio, velim apud eum excuses, ut saltem intelligat se non fuisse neglectum.[131]

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128 "Immanuel Tremellius iunior, domini doctoris Immanuelis Tremellii filius", Entry No.105 for the year 1560-1. See Toepke - Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg vol.2, p.26

129 Ordinarily, university students were at least 14 years old; if he had attained this age by 1561, he could have been born no later than 1547, the point at which Tremellius left Strasbourg.

130 James D. Tracy - Europe's Reformations, 1450-1650 (Lanham, Boulder, New York and Oxford, 1999), pp.140-1

131 John Calvin to Pierre Viret, 25 August 1547, C.O. 941 The identity of this figure is not entirely clear: Guillaume Budé had died in 1540, but he had fathered seven sons. Louis, Matthew and John Budé all studied in Strasbourg while Tremellius was there, and may have encountered him then. Louis, in particular, would go on to gain a reputation as a Hebraist himself; not only did he collaborate upon a translation of the Psalms with Calvin, but he also served as Professor of the Old Testament at the College de Rive in Geneva. See R. Peter - 'Calvin and Louis Budé's Translation of the Psalms' in G. E. Duffield (Ed.) - John Calvin (London, 1966), pp.190-209

Then, towards the end of November, Viret wrote to Guillaume Farel to explain the reasons why they could not employ Tremellius in Lausanne either. "De Emanuele quid plane tibi respondeam nescio. Nulla est hic conditio, et si qua esset multi sunt viri boni et docti qui non negligerentur. Huc accedit quod Iudaei et Itali Bernae male audiunt".[132] Viret makes it clear in this letter that Tremellius, Calvin and others had been pressing him on this point. Calvin's desire to find employment for Tremellius, in the face of the prejudices to which Farel refers, is particularly noteworthy.

Whether or not Tremellius actually travelled to Geneva, Lausanne or Berne in pursuit of employment is unclear, but nonetheless from Strasbourg he did head first to Switzerland. In December 1547, Jacobus Falesius wrote from Basle to Paul Fagius, who was still in Strasbourg at that point. In this letter, Falesius refers to a dispute that he has had with Valerand Poullain, and comments that he has explained his position to Tremellius: "Rationem autem conciliationis declaravi D. Emanueli, quam ego arbitror iustam et aequam esse".[133] Not only does this indicate that Tremellius was considered a worthy judge, but it is also apparent from this, since it is known that Fagius was still in Strasbourg, that Tremellius must have been in Basle.

Already by this point, however, further plans were underway to find a place for Tremellius. The death of Henry VIII in January 1547 had brought the young Edward VI to the English throne.[134] Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, rapidly set about drawing together a number of continental scholars to help advance the Reformation there.[135] Tremellius' reputation may not yet have been sufficient for him to have been known in England, but he did have some influential friends. In November,

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[132] Pierre Viret to Guillaume Farel, 24 November 1547, C.O. 969
[133] Jacobus Falesius to Paul Fagius, 8 December 1547, C.O. 974
[134] On Edward VI see W. K. Jordan - Edward VI: The Young King: The Protectorship of the Duke of Somerset (London, 1968) and Ibid. - Edward VI: The Threshold of Power: The Dominance of the Duke of Northumberland (London, 1970)
[135] Diarmaid MacCulloch - Thomas Cranmer. A Life (New Haven and London, 1996), p.380 ff. On Cranmer, see also Paul Ayris and David Selwyn (Eds.) - Thomas Cranmer: Christian and Scholar (Woodbridge, 1993), Jasper Ridley - Thomas Cranmer (Oxford, 1962) and Henry John Todd - The Life of Archbishop Cranmer (2 vols., London, 1831)

Martin Bucer wrote a letter to Cranmer, delivered personally to him by Peter Martyr and Bernardino Ochino, in which Bucer commended the pair to Cranmer, before going on to encourage him to issue a further invitation to Tremellius.[136] In fact, it would seem that this was a role that Bucer fulfilled for a number of figures. For instance, Johann Sleidanus asked Bucer to recommend him to Cranmer and other people in England; Bucer agreed, and wrote to William Cecil on his behalf.[137] Yet while Cranmer's invitations to some of the other scholars have survived, the one he issued to Tremellius has since been lost.

Nevertheless, one must assume that such a letter was written, since Tremellius arrived in England early in 1548.[138] He was certainly there by March of that year, at which point Oswald Myconius wrote to Heinrich Bullinger in Zürich, from England: "Evocatur Emanuel, Iudaeus aliquando, ut doceat ibi Hebraice".[139] Yet while he may have been called to England to teach Hebrew, he did not do so immediately following his arrival. Indeed, he was still with Cranmer at Lambeth in April 1549, when Bucer and Fagius wrote to the ministers of the church in Strasbourg:

> We yesterday waited upon the archbishop of Canterbury, that most benevolent and kind father of the churches and of godly men; who received and entertained us as brethren, and not as dependants. We found at his house, what was most gratifying to us, our most dear friend doctor Peter Martyr with his wife, and his attendant Julius, master Immanuel [Tremellius] with his wife; and also [Francis] Dryander, and some other

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136 "...magnifice mecum gratulatura sit R.T.P cui illos et me quem religiosissime commendo, habet et eum quem, hi duo commendabunt quaeq[ue] profecto magno possit esse usui in scholis [?word unclear] et utraque lingua, et in sacris docendis quaeq[ue] comitem habet satis instructum hebraica: Sed clara vocatione huius viri opus est de quo nostri satis tamen fuerit eum vel per me vestro iussu clare vocari expecto quotidie ampliora de regno Christi a vobis". Martin Bucer to Thomas Cranmer, 28 November 1547, Paris, Ste. Geneviève MS 1458 175r. I am most grateful to Jonathan Reid for transcribing this source for me. See also the discussion of this source in MacCulloch - Thomas Cranmer, p.381

137 For these letters see Hermann Baumgarten (Ed.) - Sleidanus Briefwechsel (Strasbourg, 1881), no.84 Johann Sleidanus to Martin Bucer, 20 March 1550 and no.89 Martin Bucer to William Cecil, 18 February 1551. I am grateful to Alexandra Kess for this information, and her discussion of this matter with me.

138 Various historians, such as Dickens - English Reformation p.234 and Carlyle p.186 suggest that he arrived in 1547, but the timing of Bucer's request that Tremellius be invited does not leave any leeway. c.f. the bill of Martyr and Ochino's expenses for their journey from Strasbourg, dated at London, 20 December 1547, reprinted for instance in George Cornelius Gorham - Gleanings of a few scattered ears during the period of the Reformation in England and of the times immediately succeeding AD 1533 to AD 1588 (London, 1857), pp.38-40

139 Oswald Myconius to Heinrich Bullinger, 20 March 1548, StAZ, EII 336a 286 (new 301)

> godly Frenchmen whom we had sent before us. All these were entertained by the archbishop of Canterbury.[140]

Certainly, Lambeth Palace proved to be a haven for international figures, and a place where they resided before being allocated to their positions. Indeed, Pollard writes: "No foreign divine of note came to England in Edward's reign without being lodged under Cranmer's roof until established elsewhere."[141] Tremellius himself referred to the time he spent with Cranmer in his uncharacteristically autobiographical preface to his Commentary on Hosea of 1563: "Me vero appulsum ipsius Archiepiscopi domus primum excepit: imo publicum doctis & piis omnibus hospitium quod ipse hospes, maecoenas & pater talibus semper patere voluit, quod quoad vixit, aut potuit".[142] He would certainly have encountered many, if not most, of the European reformers who came to England during the reign of Edward VI. Among the most notable were Bucer and Fagius who headed to Cambridge to become Professors of Divinity and Hebrew respectively; Peter Martyr, meanwhile, became Professor of Divinity at Oxford. The Dutchman Jan Utenhove and the Polish nobleman Jan a Lasco helped with the organisation of the refugee communities which sprang up. Francis Dryander from Spain, the Italian Bernardino Ochino, Martin Micron from Ghent, and Valerand Poullain, Peter Alexander and Jean Veron, all Frenchmen, were also temporary residents in London.

Little is known of the first months which Tremellius spent in England, and various historians have resorted to speculation. Strype records that Tremellius "solicited at the Court", and presumes that he sought his patent or salary; he also suggests that Tremellius busied himself with his studies, and indeed that he was "employed therein from morning till night, to prepare for his readings".[143] Presumably, part of his time was devoted to the composition of his translation into both Hebrew and Greek of

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[140] Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius to the ministers at Strasbourg, 26 April 1549, in Original Letters No. 248

[141] Albert Frederick Pollard - Thomas Cranmer and the English Reformation, 1489-1556 (London and New York, 1905, 1927), p.321

[142] Tremellius - In Hoseam Prophetam (1563), pp.5-6

[143] John Strype – Ecclesiastical Memorials Relating Chiefly to Religion and the Reformation of It (2 vols., Oxford, 1822), vol. II, p. 323

Calvin's catechism, which he published in 1551.[144] In addition, Butters suggests that Tremellius, like Peter Martyr, was a member of the commission of 32 men whom Cranmer selected to discuss ecclesiastical procedure, but that he was not keen to be a member of the commissions of 16 and three to which it was later reduced.[145] Baron, similarly, has claimed that during the time he spent at Lambeth, Tremellius "collaborated with Cranmer", although he does not indicate on what.[146] He may too have been thinking of these various commissions. Pool, meanwhile, suggests that Tremellius took part in the preparation of the Book of Common Prayer.[147] All of these suggestions are plausible, but can not be confirmed from the sources.

It is also possible that Tremellius' linguistic skills were more directly exploited. Young, for instance, remarks that Bucer and Fagius resided with Cranmer for three months after their arrival in April 1549, until term restarted in Cambridge. During this period, Cranmer "occupied them in revising the Scriptures, and writing short lucid interpretations of the most difficult passages".[148] Apparently Fagius took responsibility for the Old Testament and Bucer for the New. Pollard suggests that Tremellius began work on his own translation of the Bible while he was at Cambridge; while this may well be true, it is surely quite plausible to imagine that Fagius also sought to capitalise upon the exceptional skills of his fellow Hebraist, over a series of regular discussions in Lambeth Palace;[149] again, however, this must remain speculation.

Fagius was clearly regarded as the senior man. After all, despite arriving in England after Tremellius, it was he who was first appointed Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge,

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144 Tremellius - Catechismus Hebraice et Graece (Paris, 1551) This work seems now only to exist in older lists of Tremellius' works. The Hebrew translation was reproduced in 1554, and has survived in greater numbers. See the discussion of this in Chapter four.
145 Butters, p.15
146 Salo Wittmayer Baron - A Social and Religious History of the Jews, Late Middle Ages and Era of European Expansion, 1200-1650, vol.XIII: Inquisition, Renaissance and Reformation (New York and London, 1969), p.167
147 D. de Sola Pool - 'The Influence of Some Jewish Apostates on the Reformation' in Jewish Review, vol.2 (Nos.7-12), p.339
148 Young - Life and Times of Aonio Paleario, p.426
149 Jordan - Edward VI: The Young King, p.197

while Tremellius remained with Cranmer. Of course, Fagius already enjoyed an established international reputation, while Tremellius did not. Nonetheless, when Fagius died in November 1549, having only outlined his intended lectures on Isaiah, Tremellius was immediately named as his successor.[150] Jordan records that Tremellius gained a considerable reputation at Cambridge for his Hebrew scholarship, although he provides no evidence for this claim.[151] As in Strasbourg, Tremellius was not paid for his teaching as such, but did nonetheless receive financial support, in recognition of the service that he was providing. In 1550, the university of Cambridge passed a grace, recommending Tremellius to the king, since he taught there for nothing.[152]

Once Thomas Goodrich, the Bishop of Ely, and William Cecil, the Secretary of State, had added their weight to his case, matters moved rather more swiftly.[153] In October 1552, following the death of a certain William Pirrie, Tremellius was granted, for life, a prebend in Carlisle Cathedral.[154] He also received the houses and profits which pertained to that position, and was granted dispensation not to be resident. In a supplementary decree, the dean and chapter of the cathedral were commanded to assign to Tremellius his stall in the choir and place in the chapter.[155] Finally, towards the end of his stay in England, Tremellius was one of about a hundred foreigners who received letters of denization, issued by the Lord Chancellor. Interestingly, he and Peter Martyr,

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150 Strype – Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. II, pp. 322-3 John Le Neve - Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae: or a calendar of the Principal Ecclesiastical Dignitaries in England and Wales, and of the Chief Officers in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge (3 vols., Oxford, 1854), vol.iii, p.659 records that Tremellius was appointed Regius Professor of Hebrew in 1550; no mention is made in his calendar of Fagius as holder of this position. On Cambridge University during this period, more generally, see also Elisabeth Leedham-Green - A Concise History of the University of Cambridge (Cambridge, 1996)

151 Jordan – Edward VI: The Young King, p. 197

152 John Venn – Grace Book Δ: containing the Records of the University of Cambridge, for these years 1542-1589, entry for 1549/50: "Item conceditur ut Johannes Emanuell Tremellius qui hic gratis apud vos profitetur linguam sanctam habeat literas vestras commendaticias de conuersatione sua perscribendas serenissimo principi domino Regi vtque postquam fuerint perlecte et approbate per dominum procancellarium doctores Redman et Parker sigillentur sigillo vestro communi," p. 68 and "It conceditur vt J. Emanuell Tremellius hic apud vos professor hebreus et in sacre scripture lectione aliquamdiu versatus possit vestra authoritate et benevolentia libere disputare respondere et alia exercitia theologica exercitationis gratia publice inter theologos per vices tractare", p. 74

153 See Chapter three for a fuller discussion of their involvement in this matter.

154 Grant of 24 October 1552, in CPR, vol. II, p. 262

155 Grant of 26 October 1552, in CPR, vol. II, p. 277

who also became a denizen in this group, were among only eight individuals who were not charged for this privilege.[156]

As will be discussed more fully in Chapter three, at Cambridge Tremellius became close friends with Matthew Parker, the vice-chancellor of the university: Parker chose Tremellius to be the godfather of one of his children, while Tremellius would later dedicate his Syriac grammar to Parker. Furthermore, at some point in 1552, Tremellius was joined by Antoine Chevallier, from France, who had earlier instructed the young princess Elizabeth in the French language, to assist him in reading Hebrew there. He was rewarded for this by the grant to be a free denizen, and a prebend in Canterbury, Cranmer's own Cathedral, since he offered his services for nothing.[157] Within a year of his arrival in Cambridge, Chevallier had married one of Tremellius' daughters;[158] this must have been a daughter that Tremellius' wife brought with her from her first marriage.[159] Strype, who is admittedly a little shaky on these matters, suggests that Chevallier had two daughters, Jael and Mary, and a son, Samuel.[160] However, in the records of Cambridge University, there is also a mention of an Immanuel Chevallier, who transferred there from Heidelberg in 1569;[161] the combination of these two names make it very likely that this was a second son. Chevallier left Cambridge at around the same time as Tremellius, but he returned there to become sole Hebrew Professor in Cambridge, in 1569, a position which he held until his death in 1572.[162]

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156 Grant of 10 March 1552/3 in CPR, vol. II, pp.280-1
157 dated August 1552, according to Strype – Ecclesiastical Memorials, p. 324
158 John Strype – The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker... The First Archbishop of Canterbury in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth (Oxford, 1821) p. 147 seems to consider that Chevallier had married Tremellius' wife's sister, but this seems to be the result of a misreading of Chevallier's will. In it, Chevallier refers to Tremellius "who gave him his wife".
159 Not only do matters of chronology make this the obvious conclusion (in 1552, Tremellius had only been married for about eight years), but in a letter to Francis Boisnormand of 27 March 1559, Calvin explained the relationship between the two: "Antonius Chevallerius, ipsius Immanuelis gener: saltem privignam habet eius uxorem". C.O., 3030
160 Strype - Life of Parker, p.146
161 Venn (Ed.) - Grace Book A, p.235
162 Strype – Life of Parker, pp. 146-7

During the summer of 1553, Edward VI's health rapidly declined; he eventually died on 6 July. The accession of Mary Tudor led to an immediate reversal of fortunes for the Protestant faith in England. As Tremellius later recalled in a letter to Sir William Cecil, it was the publication of an edict concerning the restitution of the Mass, of 29 December, in particular, which had prompted him to leave England.[163] He departed at around the turn of the year, leaving his wife and children to follow him in the spring, once they had sold their furniture.[164] In the meantime, however, a number of disturbances broke out across the country, during the course of which their furniture and goods were confiscated. Under the reign of Mary, Tremellius was also deprived of the prebend which had been given to him by Edward VI, and his annual stipend of fifty marks.

Tremellius' desire to obtain some measure of compensation for these losses crops up repeatedly in his subsequent correspondence. In November 1554, he persuaded Calvin to write to Lord John Grey on his behalf, asking him to intervene and to earn Tremellius some redress in order to alleviate the poverty of his exile.[165] Then, when Elizabeth's accession to the throne encouraged his hopes of success, Tremellius returned to this matter. He mentioned this subject in two letters written to Sir William Cecil, in February and May 1561, and in another to Nicholas Throckmorton, the English ambassador, also in May.[166] It is not known, however, whether Tremellius' campaign met with any success.

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[163] Tremellius to William Cecil, 19 February 1561, in CSP - Foreign (1560-1) No.1008, pp.554-5. c.f. Thomas Fuller - The History of the University of Cambridge from the Conquest to the Year 1634 (Cambridge, 1740), p.245 who erroneously speculates: "it seemeth that soon after, either affrighted with the valetudinous condition of King Edward, or allured with the bountiful proffers of the Prince Palatine, he returned to Heidelberg". Edward VI was, of course, already dead when Tremellius left England, while he did not go to Heidelberg until the early 1560s.

[164] Tremellius to William Cecil, 19 February 1561, CSP - Foreign (1560-1) No.1008

[165] John Calvin to Lord John Grey, 13 November 1554, C.O. 1968

[166] Tremellius to William Cecil, 19 February 1561, CSP - Foreign (1560-1) No.1008; Tremellius to William Cecil, 4 May 1561, CSP - Foreign (1561-2), No.171; Tremellius to Nicholas Throckmorton, CSP - Foreign (1561-2), No.197

In the early summer of 1554, Tremellius may well have visited Cardinal Reginald Pole who had withdrawn to a monastery near Brussels.[167] As with Tremellius' baptism in Pole's household, the only work in which this meeting is mentioned is the anonymous De Antiquitate Britannicae. The prejudices of the author(s) of this work are even more clear from the description of this event: "Ipse Immanuel Tremellius Hebraeus qui ab eo nomen in Baptismo (ut diximus) accepit, cum Bruxillis beneficentiam modicam quo inopiam suam sublevaret obnixe atque adeo Christianitatis per eum susceptae nomine peteret, sine ope ulla cum probro atque minus repulsus est".[168] Moreover, the work goes on to suggest that Pole's reception of Tremellius made the English more reluctant to recall the Cardinal, out of concern as to how he would act towards the Protestants.

Of course, this treatment seems harsh, especially when one considers that Pole was responsible for Tremellius baptism, but the Cardinal was in an awkward position. In 1554, he was still in the service of the Pope, and, as an Englishman, also answerable to a Catholic monarch, Queen Mary. Moreover, his orthodoxy had already come under suspicion because of his association with heretics including Ochino, Vermigli, Flaminio and Pietro Carnesecchi, while he himself had held opinions that Trent had since declared heretical, at a time when confessional lines were starting to harden. The work as a whole undoubtedly gives a critical view of Pole, but this passage deals with an event which occurred only 18 years before and Tremellius was still alive, both of which factors reduce the likelihood that it was completely fabricated.

After Brussels, Tremellius returned to Strasbourg, probably towards the end of May.[169] It has been suggested that he stayed with Girolamo Zanchi while he was in Strasbourg and also that he offered private Hebrew lessons during his stay there.[170] Neither of these statements can be confirmed from the primary sources, however; in fact,

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167 See on this event, for instance, Becker, p.20. Most recently discussed in Mayer - Reginald Pole, p.215

168 [Matthew Parker ?] - De Antiquitate Britannicae, p.414

169 See Butters, p.20 and Becker, pp.20-4. As we will see below, he was in Berne by the middle of June.

170 Becker, p.20

Tremellius may not have stayed there long enough to make the second claim especially likely. On the other hand, Zanchi was there throughout this period, while Tremellius was just passing through, and given their previous closeness in Lucca, such an arrangement would have made much sense.[171] Since Tremellius' first stay in Strasbourg, power had fallen into the hands of the strict Lutheran, Johann Marbach.[172] In 1552, he had been appointed superintendent of the assembly of the clergy, the highest position in the local church.[173] Despite the opposition of the faculty of the Upper Classes, Marbach thought it essential that Strasbourg accept the Confession of Augsburg of 1530 as its only Confession of Faith. Whether or not this contributed to Tremellius' decision not to remain in Strasbourg is unclear, but he had moved on to Berne by the middle of June.

On 13 June, Wolfgang Musculus wrote to Calvin, lamenting the case of the exiles from England - he mentions only Tremellius by name - and explains what the Senate has decided for them.[174] As a letter that Tremellius wrote to Calvin the following day makes clear, the Genevan had recommended him to Musculus, and his kind words were well regarded.[175] Johannes Haller, writing to Heinrich Bullinger in Zürich, also referred to Tremellius' arrival there. He wrote:

> Nunc communi cum aliis fortuna eiectus huc venit commendatus a Calvino, Vireto, Beza et aliis. Dominus vero praeter spem nostram permovit animos principum nostrorum, ut illum in scholae nostrae usum receperint; speramus ergo magnum ex eo fructum ad nos omnes rediturum... Quod tibi significo, ut nobis de tanto scholae nostrae profectu congratuleris; habemus enim nunc non paucos tuosque salutant, quos ego quoque cupio salvos.[176]

According to another work of Haller, Tremellius did deliver some public lectures in Berne, but he was a little premature in expressing his belief that this position would

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171 See Burchill - 'Girolamo Zanchi' especially pp.189-93 which deals with 1553-61, the period which Zanchi spent in Strasbourg.
172 James M. Kittelson - 'Marbach vs. Zanchi: The Resolution of Controversy in Late Reformation Strasbourg' in SCJ 8 (1977), pp.31-44
173 Chrisman - Lay Culture, Learned Culture, p.205
174 Wolfgang Musculus to John Calvin, 13 June 1554, C.O. 1968
175 Tremellius to John Calvin, 14 June 1554, C.O. 1971
176 Johannes Haller to Heinrich Bullinger, 17 June 1554, StAZ E II 370, 199

become more permanent;[177] rather, this was yet another brief pause in Tremellius' itinerary.

Tremellius had certainly departed a month later. In a second letter to Bullinger, written towards the end of July, Haller expresses his disappointment that Tremellius has had to leave Berne again, and the belief that greater use would be made of him in Lausanne: "Apud nos satis bene se habent omnia, nisi quod Emanuel iterum nobis ablatus est. Visum enim est nostris illum Lausannae commodius quam hic agere posse".[178] Tremellius was still in Lausanne in September when he wrote again to Calvin. In this letter, he expresses noble sentiments about his willingness to serve the cause of the Reformation in any capacity: "Manissem Bernae si Dominus voluisset. Cur noluerit, longius non inquiro quam praefinit certa de providentia eius erga me fides. Scio enim id mihi utilissimum et honestissimum esse quod de me benignissimus pater statuit".[179] Yet Tremellius was to be disappointed here as well: he was not hired in Lausanne either. It has been suggested that the support from Calvin worked against him, but the fact that Lausanne was subject to the authority of Berne may have been of greater significance.[180]

Although most of the evidence is rather circumstantial, there seem good grounds for suggesting that Tremellius headed next to Geneva.[181] In the letter which he wrote to Calvin, mentioned in the previous paragraph, Tremellius says that his wife is going to Geneva, and asks Calvin to look after her.[182] In his biography, Wilhelm Becker assumes that Tremellius caught up with his wife in Geneva, towards the end of the year.[183] However, if Tremellius felt he had a good chance of gaining employment in

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177 Johannes Haller - Ephemerides... quibus ad anno 1548 ad 1565 continentur quidquid fere in utroque statu bernae continetur (Zürich, 1746) p.104: "Mense Iunio venit huc D. Em. Tremellius, Hebraeus natione, fide Christianus. Is per aliquot septimanas hic publice legit, et nisi invidia quaedam contra ipsum orta fuisset poterat hic retineri", quoted in n.1 on C.O. 1968

178 Johannes Haller to Heinrich Bullinger, 21/27? July 1554, StAZ E II 370, 200

179 Tremellius to John Calvin, 14 June 1554, C.O. 1971

180 The suggestion about Calvin's negative influence is made by Becker, p.25

181 Becker says that Tremellius did visit Geneva, but Butters does not.

182 Tremellius to John Calvin, 14 June 1554, C.O. 1971

183 Becker, pp.25-6

Lausanne, it would hardly have been logical for him to have made plans which would almost immediately take him away from that city. On the other hand, we have already encountered the letter which Calvin wrote to Lord John Grey, on Tremellius' behalf, in November 1554, asking him to pursue Tremellius' claims for compensation for the losses he had sustained following the death of Edward VI.[184] It is quite likely that Tremellius had asked Calvin, in person, to write this letter.[185] In a later letter, discussed more fully below, in which Calvin expresses his regret that Tremellius is unable to join his new Academy in Geneva, he indicates that they had discussed this matter before: as no letter survives in which this matter is mentioned, it is quite possible that they had done so while Tremellius was in Geneva.

Calvin may have been responsible for obtaining Tremellius' next post, but as we will see below, no mention is made of such an arrangement when Calvin tried to win Tremellius back for his newly-founded Academy, nor does that seem to have made his current employer any more ready to release him. Passing through Strasbourg again, in November, Tremellius headed to Zweibrücken, where he arrived either at the end of 1554, or at the very start of 1555.[186] There he became tutor to the three children of Duke Wolfgang: Princess Christine who was eight years old at the start of Tremellius' tenure, Prince Philip-Ludwig who was seven, and Prince Johann, who was four.[187] As was to be expected, Tremellius' efforts were directed primarily towards the education of Philip-Ludwig who was heir to the duchy of the Bipontine Palatinate. A letter Tremellius wrote to Conrad Hubert in Strasbourg several years into the job makes it quite clear that he was kept very busy in this post.[188] He certainly published no

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184 John Calvin to Lord John Grey, 13 November 1554, C.O. 2044

185 Letters between Calvin and Tremellius have survived in some number, which perhaps makes it more likely that had such a letter been written we would still have a copy of it.

186 On 18 November 1554, Peter Martyr in Strasbourg wrote to Theodore Beza, presumably still in Lausanne, to thank him for a copy of his De haereticis puniendis, which he had sent via Tremellius. C.O. 2049

187 Butters, p.20; Becker, p.27

188 Tremellius to Conrad Hubert, 15 December 1557, ZbZ MS S91, 47. This letter is discussed in greater detail in Chapter four.

writings while holding this post, although it remains possible that he used any spare time to work on ones published later in his career.

Nevertheless, Tremellius did not spend all of his time at the ducal court in Zweibrücken during these years. At some point in 1555, he followed the Duke to Amberg, the principal town in the Upper Palatinate; he was certainly there by June of that year.[189] Unfortunately, while he was there, he became subject to dropsy, which obliged him to spend about six months through the winter into 1556 in hospital there. Indeed, it was on these grounds that in May he explained to Conrad Hubert why he had not been able to write to him for some time: "...sex enim Mensibus hydrope in lecte de sentivi nullo modo scribere potui, nec licuit quem reliqueram Ambergae".[190]

Shortly after this, the Duke of Zweibrücken appointed Tremellius as the first rector of the Academy which he established in Hornbach, a town about ten kilometres from Zweibrücken, in a former cloister school of the Benedictines. Carlyle claims that this occurred on 1 January 1559, while Ney suggests that it was on 16 January.[191] Many other writers, moreover, have suggested that Tremellius only received this promotion once Calvin invited him to join his Academy in Geneva, but this does not conform with the evidence emanating from that city. Writing to Tremellius in August 1558, Calvin had already deduced that Tremellius had been appointed a professor in this institution.[192] Judging from the incompleteness of his information, Tremellius' change of position must have been quite recent. Becker's suggestion that he became rector on 1 August 1558 is more plausible, but remains unsubstantiated.[193] Tremellius was certainly there by 11 December, on which date he wrote to Joachim Camerarius.[194] Butters, in fact, suggests that Tremellius was the Duke's second choice as rector, Caspar

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189 Tremellius to Conrad Hubert, 17 June 1555, ZbZ MS S 84, 6 which was sent from Amberg.
190 Tremellius to Conrad Hubert, 15 May 1556, ZbZ MS S 84, 7
191 Carlyle, p.186.; Ney (1911), p.504 Also c.f. Brian G. Armstrong - 'Tremellius, John Immanuel (1510-1580)' in J. D. Douglas (Ed.) - The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church (Exeter, 1978), p.984 who claims Tremellius was headmaster of the Hornbach Gymnasium from 1559-1560.
192 John Calvin to Tremellius, 29 August 1558, C.O. 2944
193 Becker, p.29
194 Tremellius to Joachim Camerarius, 11 December 1558, ZbZ MS S 93, 154

Olevianus having refused the post shortly before.[195] Nonetheless, one must imagine that he always intended Tremellius to serve as the professor of Hebrew, as this was where his real expertise lay.

At this point, it should be recalled that Friedrich Butters' biography was published in Zweibrücken, and that in the subtitle of the work, Tremellius is described as "Erster Rector des Zweibrücker Gymnasiums". Indeed, the work was intended to commemorate the tercentenary of that institution. Butters describes Tremellius' position as rector in Hornbach as "jedenfalls das schwierigste, das er je vewaltete".[196] The combination of administrative and pedagogical duties, he suggests, would have been hard enough, even had Tremellius not been the first person to hold this position. In the absence of contemporary sources, Butters quotes the history written by Ph. C. Heintz in 1816: "daß Tremellius allerdings ein sehr gelehrter Mann, aber kein geschickter Dirigent war. Er mußte weder die Lehrgegenstände geschickt zu vertheilen, noch die Achtung der Schüler zu gewinnen. Auch hatter er beständig mit seiner schwachen Gesundheit zu kämpfen".[197]

Butters suggests that these accusations were grounded on the command given to Tremellius' successor as rector to introduce better morals and order. Ultimately, it remains impossible to determine either way. Butters and Becker both refer to the likely problems that Tremellius would have encountered as a foreigner and as a converted Jew, but these factors must always have shaped his reception, in whatever location, and no matter his job. A lack of experience of the administrative side of things may have been a problem, but there is no indication that he suffered any problems when holding the same position in Heidelberg. His lingering illness cannot have helped, but at the same time the original comment on which this is all based could be read another way: while

195 Butters, pp.20-1
196 Butters, p.22
197 quoted in Butters, pp.22-3

discipline may have been lax under Tremellius, there is no criticism of the way he dealt with any of his other duties.

Some time during 1558, Calvin sought to attract Tremellius to the Academy that he had only recently established in Geneva.[198] Of course, as we saw above, Tremellius had been recommended to Calvin as early as 1547, but he had been unable to find an appropriate position for him at that stage. Then, in 1554, Tremellius had visited Geneva, during which time the pair could well have discussed the matter. It is evident from subsequent correspondence that the subject had been broached at some point before 1558, although it is unclear whether this was through letters which have not survived. In March 1558, Calvin first approached Jean Mercier, a leading French Hebraist, and a 'lecteur royal' in Paris.[199] When he turned down the offer of the chair of Hebrew, according to Maag, Calvin turned to "an even more renowned Hebrew scholar", namely Tremellius.[200]

Whether or not there was any direct contact during the summer of 1558 is unclear, but from August 1558, we have a letter which Calvin wrote to Tremellius.[201] In it, the Genevan says that he has deduced from the fact that the Duke of Zweibrücken is now looking for a new tutor for his children that Tremellius must have become a professor in his new Academy. He laments not acting more quickly, before adding: "The grief for having been unable to secure your services prevents me from fully congratulating you on the subject of the situation which you have obtained". Despite his pessimism regarding Tremellius' availability, he concludes by remarking: "...if even still it should

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198 On the Academy in Geneva, see, for especially Karin Maag - Seminary or University? The Genevan Academy and Reformed Higher Education, 1560-1620 (Aldershot, 1995). Also Charles Borgeaud - Histoire de l'Université de Genève (4 vols., Geneva, 1900), vol.1: L'Académie de Calvin, 1559-1798, and Gillian Lewis - 'The Geneva Academy' in Andrew Pettegree, Alistair Duke and Gillian Lewis (Eds.) - Calvinism in Europe (Cambridge and New York, 1994), pp.35-63

199 Calvin to Jean Mercier, 16 March 1558, C.O. vol 17, columns 94-5

200 Maag - Seminary or University?, p.13. Maag mistakenly asserts that Tremellius had already taught in Heidelberg by this point.

201 John Calvin to Tremellius, 29 August 1558, C.O. 2944

be in your power to come among us, you would have a much wider field here for your labours in promoting the welfare of the church".

Two months later, moreover, the Genevan Senate wrote to the Duke of Zweibrücken, to ask that he release Tremellius. Having first flattered the Duke, and set out the noble purposes of their institution, they explain their predicament: "nullus autem idoneus linguae hebraicae professor nobis est ad manum, coegit nos necessitas subsidium a vestra Celsitudine petere. Est enim sub vestra ditione Emmanuel Tremellius, qui paulo ante docendis vestris liberis praefectus erat magister".[202] They seem to have been confident that their request would be successful too. The registers of the Genevan small council for 27 October state that there were to be three public chairs in the Academy: Tremellius would hold the one in Hebrew, Theodore Beza, who had until then been in Lausanne, would teach Greek, and someone from Paris was to teach Latin.[203]

Despite Tremellius' keenness to accept the invitation, however, it was not to be. For, as Calvin explained to Francis Boisnormand, who had hoped to fill the Chair of Hebrew in Geneva himself, Tremellius "had written two or three times, that nothing would be more consonant with his wishes than if he obtained permission to come and settle here. The Duke of Zweibrücken gave us a courteous reply, that he could not possibly part with Tremellius except to the great detriment of his academy."[204] Instead, especially because of the problems which beset the University in Lausanne, Calvin allocated the position to Tremellius' son-in-law, Antoine Chevallier.[205]

While in the service of the Duke of Zweibrücken, either as tutor to his children or as rector of his academy, Tremellius had several other responsibilities. According to Butters, at some stage, Tremellius was made assessor of Duke Wolfgang's

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202 Genevan Senate to the Duke of Zweibrücken, October [1558], C.O. 4191
203 Maag - Seminary or University?, p.14
204 Jean Calvin to Francis Boisnormand, 27 March 1559, C.O. 3030
205 Conflict between the authorities in Berne and a number of the professors at the University of Lausanne, which lay in Berne's territory, reached a head in October 1558. Theodore Beza, Pierre Viret and Antoine Chevallier were among those who immediately headed to Geneva.

consistory.[206] Moreover, he argues quite convincingly that Tremellius would have had a share in drafting the Duke's Church Order of 1557, since the Duke would have used all available helpers, including non-theologians, for such an important work.[207] This work was apparently then handed on to Philip Melanchthon, Johann Brenz, Johann Marbach and other theologians for their approval.[208] Wolfgang's Lutheran tendencies were becoming increasingly clear. Butters also claims that "Gewitz auch, das der Herzog den Rector beaustragte, die Kirchenordnung in die lateinische, französische und englische Sprache zu übersetzen", but that Tremellius was unable to comply with this since he left his post soon after. Nonetheless, Butters concludes that his readiness to accept such a task demonstrates his ecumenical stance: he was willing to offer his abilities to a Protestant party whose faith he did not entirely share.[209] Of course, as he did not actually provide these translations, such a claim is perhaps something of an exaggeration; on the other hand, confessional differences probably did contribute to Tremellius' next move.

The circumstances surrounding Tremellius' departure from his post at Hornbach are not entirely clear, nor is there a consensus among those who have written about this development. The latest date at which he can still be located there with certainty is 9 November 1559, when he sent another letter to Conrad Hubert from Hornbach.[210] Ney suggests he remained there until 7 March 1561 "when he took leave of Wolfgang in peace", and headed directly to Heidelberg.[211] More frequent, however, is the suggestion that Tremellius left in rather more acrimonious circumstances. Some have suggested that a refused request for a payrise encouraged Tremellius to tender his resignation.[212] Others have claimed that the death of Ottoheinrich, the Elector Palatine

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206 Unfortunately, Butters does not quote any evidence in support of his various claims noted here; however, as we have seen, he was writing in Zweibrücken and perhaps had access to certain sources unknown by other authors. They do still require to be treated with care, however.
207 Butters, p.21
208 See also on this Becker, p.30
209 Butters, p.21
210 Tremellius to Conrad Hubert, 9 November 1559, ZbZ MS S 96, 38
211 Ney (1911), p.504 Ney suggests, moreover, that Tremellius' actions on behalf of the Protestants of Metz, discussed below, were undertaken while still in the official employ of the Duke of Zweibrücken.
212 Most recently, this has been the contention of Dagmar Drull - 'Immanuel Tremellius' in Ibid. -

in February 1559, and the strengthening of Calvinism which resulted from the accession of Frederick III, contributed almost to a Lutheran paranoia. Paradoxically, the Calvinists of Zweibrücken found themselves in trouble. According to Butters, Conrad Marius, who had succeeded Tremellius as tutor to the Duke's children, accused his predecessor of having taught them Calvinism. Tremellius lost his job, and, indeed, according to various commentators, was imprisoned for any time between a week and several months.[213]

It would seem likely that Tremellius had departed from Zweibrücken by October 1560, as Thomas Erastus wrote two letters to Heinrich Bullinger in that month, conveying news to him about the ongoing negotiations relating to Tremellius' appointment as a professor of theology at Heidelberg University.[214] Of course, the possibility remains that he was making arrangements to move on before he had left Zweibrücken, but the Duke's refusal to release Tremellius when Calvin had approached him makes this less likely. Before taking up that position, however, Tremellius was briefly involved in diplomatic negotiations on behalf of Metz, the town of his wife; it may well have been that the Elector Frederick was aware that he would fulfil this task before formally joining his University.

On 5 October 1559, King Francis II of France had prohibited the Huguenots from remaining in Metz.[215] They demanded a year to prepare for emigration and this was granted to them. On 5 December 1560, however, Francis II died; Catherine de Medici took over as regent on behalf of her eleven-year-old son Charles IX, and attempted to

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Heidelberger Gelehrtenlexikon 1386-1649 (Berlin, Heidelberg, New York and Tokyo, 2001) I am grateful to Dr. Drull-Zimmerman who kindly showed me an earlier draft of her article on Tremellius.

213 Becker, p.31 says he was imprisoned only for a week, while Butters, p.25 says it was for several months. Venn and Venn - 'Tremellius', p.263, Carlyle, p.186 and Barker - 'Perils of Publishing' p.125 all record that he was imprisoned without specifying for how long.

214 Thomas Erastus to Heinrich Bullinger, 8 October 1560 and 30 October 1560, StAZ EII 361, 8 and StAZ EII 361, 85 respectively.

215 On these events see R. P. Meurisse - Histoire de la Naissance du Progrès et de la décadence de l'hérésie dans la ville de Metz & dans le pays Messin (Metz, 1670), p.147 ff., and Henri-Tribout de Morembert - La Réforme à Metz. Vol. II. Le Calvinisme 1553-1685 (Nancy, 1971), p.24 ff

maintain control through a policy of moderation and conciliation.[216] The people of Metz consequently sought to take advantage of the changed circumstances in the French monarchy to improve their own position. In January 1561, Tremellius, who had presumably stayed in Metz for the past few months, along with Didier Rolin, a burgher of Metz, led a delegation to Orléans, where the French court was assembled for an Estates-General. Their requests were threefold. They sought the freedom to practise their own religion in the town of Metz and its vicinity; the free return of those who had already been exiled; and the release of Guillaume Palisseau, who was being held in Auxerre on religious grounds. Tremellius and Rolin carried with them a procuration signed by sixty burghers in the name of all of those of that religion.[217] The mission was largely successful. The second and third demands were met: Palisseau was freed, while those who had emigrated for religious reasons were allowed to return. As for the first demand, the freedom to practise Protestantism within Metz itself was still forbidden, but it was henceforth countenanced outside the city walls. On these negotiations, Butters comments: "The successes achieved were mainly due to the fame, zeal and skills of Tremellius, who started a new career in Heidelberg with the feeling of having been of use to his people."[218]

Yet before Tremellius headed to Heidelberg, he was involved in further diplomatic negotiations at the French court. The Earl of Bedford and Sir Nicholas Throckmorton had arrived there in January, and found Tremellius in the middle of pleading the case on behalf of the Metz Huguenots.[219] They spoke with him, and persuaded him to join them in an effort to establish a Protestant anti-papal coalition. In particular, the English diplomats wanted to use Tremellius to persuade the Protestant princes of Germany to send envoys who would, in their turn, attempt to persuade the French not to participate

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216 On Catherine de Medici's policy of compromise see Janine Garrison - A History of Sixteenth-Century France, 1483-1598. Renaissance, Reformation and Rebellion trans. Richard Rex (Basingstoke, 1991, 1995), p.256 ff.
217 Becker, p.32
218 Butters, p.27
219 See Earl of Bedford to the German Protestant Princes, 22 February 1561, CSP-Foreign 1560-1, No.1020

in the third session of the Council of Trent, which was about to commence.[220] According to Bedford and Throckmorton's subsequent report to the Privy Council, Tremellius was awarded 100 crowns for his services.[221] By early May, moreover, Tremellius returned with messages from the German princes which he delivered personally to the King of Navarre and the King of France, the latter now being at Reims.[222] According to a letter he then wrote to Throckmorton on 15 May, he was about to take replies from the King of Navarre and France back to the German Princes.[223]

As we have seen, negotiations were already underway to add Tremellius to Heidelberg's theology faculty as early as October 1560. According to some of his biographers, he was appointed Professor of Old Testament studies on 4 March 1561.[224] This date ought to be handled with some scepticism, however. Not only is there no mention of it in the matriculation records, but as late as May, it seems that Tremellius was looking for employment elsewhere. Following his diplomatic activities on behalf of the Earl of Bedford and Throckmorton, he seems to have entertained the idea of entering the service of the English monarchy on a more permanent basis. On 9 May 1561, Throckmorton wrote two letters, one to Queen Elizabeth and one to Sir William Cecil, her chief secretary of state, recommending him for such a post. Evidently this came to nothing, however; soon after, he headed to Heidelberg.[225] On June 31, Tremellius received a doctorate in theology from the University of Heidelberg,[226] and on 9 July, he and Caspar Olevianus were enrolled as members of the university senate.[227] The

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220 "Instructions for Tremellius", Earl of Bedford and Nicholas Throckmorton to Tremellius, 22 February 1560, CSP-Foreign 1560-1, No.1022

221 Bedford and Throckmorton to the Privy Council, 26 February 1561, CSP-Foreign 1560-1, No.1030

222 c.f. Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth of England, 9 May 1561, CSP-Foreign 1561-2, No.189 and Tremellius to Nicholas Throckmorton, CSP-Foreign 1561-2, No.197

223 Tremellius to Nicholas Throckmorton, CSP-Foreign 1561-2, No.197

224 Carlyle p.187; Ney (1885), p.2

225 There are many errors in the secondary literature regarding when Tremellius was at Heidelberg. In part, these errors may have arisen because Heidelberg was arguably his most prestigious as well as the longest-held post, and therefore the one with which he tends to be most readily to be associated.

226 Toepke - Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg vol.2, p.25: "Imm. Trem., Ferrariensis, receptus iam in professorem in facultate theologica loco secundo, antequam in doctoram theologiae promoveretur, quod tamen paulo post factum, inscriptus est... die ultima Junii" [1561]

227 Toepke - Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg quotes the Acta Universitatis VIII. 47r: Die IX

professorship in Heidelberg was the position which Tremellius held for longest in his career: he was employed there for 16 years.[228]

Heidelberg, under Frederick III, quickly became, in the words of Clasen, "a cultural centre of European Calvinism".[229] The Palatinate, because of its geographical position, had long been exposed to influence from France and the Netherlands. These ties were strengthened as Frederick introduced Calvinism at a time when both countries were experiencing religious wars. Consequently, there was a steady stream of religious refugees to Germany, and especially to the Palatinate. Communities of Dutch- and French-speaking Calvinists were formed in Lutheran and Catholic territories, but their existence was precarious; only in the Calvinist Palatinate could they be sure of a welcome.[230]

The University of Heidelberg appears to have profited most of all from this influx of foreign religious refugees. Clasen remarks that Heidelberg "rose to be one of the leading, if not the leading, University in the Empire". Moreover, he continues, "more than anything, the presence of a whole series of brilliant French, Italian and Dutch professors contributed to the fame of Heidelberg University".[231] Indeed, for a period of about fifty years, Heidelberg became one of the most cosmopolitan universities of Europe, in terms both of its students and its staff. In 1558, the Prince Elector Ottoheinrich had reformed the university along humanist and Protestant lines. Following a public disputation in June 1560, in which the relative merits of Lutheranism and Calvinism had been contested, Frederick III gave the university a more clearly-defined Reformed orientation, attracting in a large body of foreign, Calvinist

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Julij 1561. "in senatum academiae recepti sunt dominus Immanuel Tremellius et dom Casparus Olevianus, promoti iam in doctores theologiae et antea praesentati ab illustrissimo principe, ille ad locum secumdum, hic ad locum in facultate theologica".

228 Dagmar Drull - 'Immanuel Tremellius' in Ibid. - Heidelberger Gelehrtenlexikon 1386-1649 (Berlin, Heidelberg, New York and Tokyo, 2001) I am grateful to Dr. Drull-Zimmerman who kindly showed me an earlier draft of her article on Tremellius.

229 Claus-Peter Clasen – The Palatinate in European History, 1559-1660 (Oxford, 1963) p. 33

230 Ibid., p.34

231 Ibid., p.35

professors. Scholars from Switzerland, France, Italy and the Netherlands swelled the ranks of home-grown German academics. This was then, in turn, reflected in the student body of the university. In the first half of the sixteenth century, approximately 100 students had matriculated each year. In the 1560s and 1570s, this figure had risen to an average of about 150 a year, and by the second decade of the seventeenth century, the university was attracting almost 200 new students each year. Furthermore, of these students, one third were foreigners, drawn from as far away as Scandinavia and Eastern Europe, Britain and Italy, France and the Netherlands.[232]

The international character and prestigious nature of the university of Heidelberg were nowhere more evident than in its illustrious faculty of theology, the faculty to which Tremellius was invited in 1561. Among its most famous members were the Italian Zanchi, a long-term friend of Tremellius, Pierre Boquin, François du Jon, or Junius, and Daniel Toussain, all Frenchmen, Jacob Kimedonck, a Dutchman, Zacharias Ursinus from Silesia, and Caspar Olevianus from Trier.[233] Once more, Tremellius found himself in the midst of a great wealth of European learning. The first major achievement of this faculty was the production of the Heidelberg Catechism, which was published in 1563. This document was, according to Chadwick "the best and most widely used of all documents of the Reformed faith".[234] Moreover, as Thompson has written, the Palatinate Church order of 1563, which contained both the Heidelberg Catechism and the Palatinate liturgy, introduced a permanent Reformed tradition into Germany.[235] It also provided the religious basis for the Palatinate at a time when, as Chadwick remarks, "...Heidelberg became a new capital of the Reformed faith, third only to Zürich and Geneva".[236]

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232 Ibid., p.37; c.f. Toepke - Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg

233 Clasen - Palatinate in European History, p. 35; on Ursinus see Christopher J. Burchill - 'On the Consolation of a Christian Scholar: Zacharias Ursinus (1534-83) and the Reformation in Heidelberg' in JEH 37 (1986), pp.565-83

234 Owen Chadwick – 'The Making of a Reforming Prince: Frederick III, Elector Palatine' in R. Buick Knox (Ed.) - Reformation, Conformity and Dissent: Essays in Honour of Geoffrey Nuttall (London, 1979), p. 68

235 Bard Thompson – 'The Palatinate Church Order of 1563', in CH 23 (1954), p. 339

236 Chadwick – 'Making of a Reforming Prince', p. 68

Tremellius' most obvious role in Heidelberg was that of a teacher. Between 1562 and 1577, he taught both Hebrew and theology there. Most commentators and biographers have passed over this subject virtually in silence. In part, this may be because he was teaching the same subjects that he had always taught, but it also seems that the paucity of source material has made offering much in the way of analysis difficult. Nonetheless, I have located a variety of materials which allow rather more to be said; this subject will be treated more fully in Chapter four. Furthermore, within the theological faculty, Tremellius had various teaching-related duties. In 1569, he took responsibility on behalf of the theology faculty as a whole, for providing the answers to a series of questions posed by the Elector to determine what was being taught by each of his professors, and to how many students.[237] Towards the end of his time in Heidelberg, moreover, Tremellius was one member of a commission of three professors, with Zanchi and Boquin, which drew up a new set of statutes for the faculty of theology. These were adopted in 1575.[238]

Also rather overlooked in the writing specifically on Tremellius is the fact that he held the position of rector on two separate occasions, in 1562 and 1575.[239] Foreigners were only elected as Rectors of the University on twelve occasions between 1560 and 1610;[240] that Tremellius accounts for two of these twelve times in this fifty-year period is a remarkable indication of the considerable regard in which he was held within the university. It is all the more surprising, therefore, that virtually all of his biographers have remained silent on this point. Between these two dates, Tremellius was rewarded with a further position of responsibility outwith the faculty of theology, namely that of

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237 See Eduard Winkelmann (Ed.) - Urkundenbuch der Universität Heidelberg zur Fünfhundertjährigen stiftungsfeier der Universität (2 vols, Heidelberg, 1884-6), vol.1, pp.308-9

238 The text of these statutes is given in Johann F. Hautz – Geschichte der Universität Heidelberg... herausgegeben und mit einer Vorrede, der Lebensgeschicte der Verfassers und... Personen- und Sachsregister versehen von K.A. v. Recihlin-Meldegy (2 vols., Mannheim, 1862-4), vol. 2, pp. 421-5

239 Butters does not mention this at all, while Becker, p.35 merely states that he held this position "several times". However, see Winkelmann – Urkundenbuch der Univeristät Heidelberg vol. II, p. 136 and Hautz – Geschichte der Universität Heidelberg vol. II, p.84 for mentions of these years.

240 Clasen - Palatinate in European History, p. 36

envoy to England. Most of his biographers suggest that in or around 1565, while the University of Heidelberg was closed due to plague in the Palatinate, Tremellius came to Elizabeth I of England as a representative of the Elector, and further that he stayed with his old friend, Matthew Parker, the Archbishop of Canterbury, for about six months. It is also often recorded that Tremellius was offered a professorship in England, by the Queen, but that he gratefully declined this.[241] Most of this information comes from the dedicatory epistle, addressed to Parker, which is prefixed to Tremellius' Chaldaean Grammar;[242] there is little cause for doubting this information, at least as far as it goes.

Nonetheless, certain extra material, evidently unknown to the majority of Tremellius' biographers, can be used to supplement this narrative. Most significantly, the year to which the events have been attributed needs to be corrected. The letter in which Frederick commends his legate to Parker is dated 12 February 1568, while the reply of the archbishop to the elector was written on 23 March.[243] Tremellius must therefore have arrived in England at some point between these two dates. In addition, a letter written by Tremellius to Parker, sent from Frankfurt and dated 16 September of the same year, indicates that the visit had by this point come to an end.[244] The contents of this letter allow his departure date to be placed somewhat earlier. In the letter, Tremellius remarks that he has learned from letters of the Bishop of London that his earlier letters of gratitude for Parker's hospitality had not been delivered.[245] Taking into account this earlier exchange of letters, and allowing for brief delays, one might conservatively estimate that Tremellius had departed from England by the end of August 1568. These dates would also correspond with Tremellius' own remarks, in the preface to his Chaldaean Grammar, about his visit having been of six months' duration.

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241 See for example Butters, pp. 35-6; Becker, p. 38

242 See the introductory letter to Tremellius - Grammatica Chaldaea et Syra (Geneva, 1569)

243 These two letters are mentioned in Nasmith - Catalogus Manuscriptorum p. 175 (Entry CXIX, numbers 4 and 5)

244 Tremellius to Archbishop Parker, 16 September 1568, quoted in J. Bruce and T. T. Perowne (Eds.) - Correspondence of Matthew Parker D.D., Archbishop of Canterbury. Letters written by him and to him from A.D. 1535 to A.D.1575 (Cambridge, 1853), pp. 332-3

245 Ibid., p. 332

What Tremellius did in England is far less clear, however. It appears he was granted several audiences with the Queen. As envoy of a foreign ruler, this would be almost inevitable, while Tremellius' own testimony would also confirm this. One explanation for what may have been discussed is provided by the ambassador to Philip II of Spain, Guzman de Silva. In his report, sent from London on 27 March 1568, which further confirms the dating of Tremellius' visit, de Silva concludes with a reference to Tremellius. After a brief synopsis of Tremellius' earlier career, he writes, "It is said he comes here for the purpose of arranging a League with the Queen, and will go on to Scotland to discuss a similar matter with the Regent and his government, taking letters from the folks here".[246] The talk of a League does have a familiar ring to it; as we have seen, in the early 1560s Tremellius had been involved in negotiations with representatives of some of the German princes at the French court, with the purpose of establishing a European Protestant alliance. It is possible, then, that Tremellius was returning to this cause six years later. As for his suggestion that Tremellius would go on to Scotland, this seems a little less likely. Not only is there no other indication that this journey, even if it were intended, ever came to pass, but the dates which have been proposed in this thesis for his visit would not have given him much time to travel there.

Finally, Tremellius also found time to bring to fruition the majority of the works which survive from his career. Some of these undoubtedly had their origins earlier in his career. For example, his edition of Bucer's Commentary on Ephesians was a product of his stay in England.[247] As its full title suggests, and as Tremellius explains in the preface, this work was at least in part based on the notes he had made while hearing Bucer lecture in Cambridge, but was not published for another decade, until 1562. A lengthy digression on part of chapter four of the Epistle, dealing with the nature of the Christian Ministry, appeared as a separate work in the same year.[248] Some of his other writings may more completely be attributed to his Heidelberg period. These included a

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246 Guzman de Silva to the King [Philip II], 27 March 1568, quoted in CSP - Spanish vol. II, pp. 16-7
247 Tremellius - Praelectiones doctiss. in Epistolam D. P. ad Ephesios, eximij doctoris Martini Buceri ... Ex ore praelegentis collectae, & ... editae (Basle, 1562)
248 Tremellius - Libellus vere aureus D. Martini Buceri de vi et usu sacri ministerii (Basle, 1562)

Commentary on Hosea,[249] a Latin translation of Jonathan's Aramaic paraphrase of the twelve minor prophets,[250] and a Chaldaean and Syriac Grammar.[251] Finally, and most significantly, Tremellius' extensively annotated translations of the Old and New Testaments were also a product of his stay in Heidelberg.[252]

Ultimately, as had happened on so many occasions before in his career, circumstances beyond Tremellius' control forced him to move on once more. In 1576, the elector Frederick died and was succeeded by his son, Ludwig VI, who immediately reintroduced Lutheranism as the state religion in the Palatinate. Tremellius was deprived of his Chair at the university on 5 December 1577, along with Boquin and Zanchi.[253] The university attempted to intervene on their behalf on 11 and 20 December, but with no effect.[254] Zanchi, Ursinus and Toussain all became professors at the Collegium Casimirianum, set up in Neustadt by Johann Casimir in April 1578. Why Boquin and Tremellius did not join them there is unclear. The former returned to France to serve briefly as a pastor, before becoming a professor at the University of Lausanne in 1580.

Meanwhile, Tremellius, who was now aged 67, also headed to France, where his first port of call was Metz.[255] It has occasionally been suggested that it was his wife who was chiefly responsible for this move.[256] She was of course a native of that city, so it is

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249 Tremellius - In Hoseam prophetam interpretatio et enarratio ([Geneva], 1563)
250 Tremellius - Ionathae filii Uzielis... Chaldaea paraphrasis in duodecim minores prophetas... latine reddita (Heidelberg, 1567)
251 Tremellius - Grammatica Chaldaea et Syra (Geneva, 1569)
252 See Chapters five and six.
253 "Die VI Decembris, mandato illustrissimi Electoris, tres theologi professores in Academia per Rectorem jussi sunt, eo quod Calvinismum hactenus docuissent, & professionibus suis deinceps desistere, et aedibus ac stipendis suis non ultra natalem Domini frui." Ursinus to Theodore Beza, 25 December 1577, C.deB. 1283
254 See Winkelmann - Urkundenbuch der Universität Heidelberg vol. 2, p.140
255 Ney (1911) p.504; Carlyle, p.186
256 Biographie Universelle, Ancienne et Moderne - 'Tremellius (Emanuel)', in Vol.46 (1826), p.469; Cooper - 'Tremellius' in Athenae Cantabrigienses, vol.1, p.426; Friedrich Wilhelm Cuno - Blatter der Erinnerung an Dr. Kaspar Olevianus, herausgegeben zu dessen dreihundertjährigen Todestage (Barmen, 1887), p.44 This suggestion presupposes that Tremellius' wife was still alive by this point, which can not be guaranteed. It was now about 35 years ago since she had first fled Metz, and must by this point have at least been in her sixties.

possible that she may have wished to return to her family. However, it must also be remembered that this was the second time that Tremellius had visited Metz: on the last occasion, in 1560, he had been instrumental in winning religious refugees liberties for the Protestants of that city, as leader of a delegation to Catherine de Medici. It may have been that Tremellius, therefore, suddenly deprived of his long-held post in Heidelberg, felt he could hope for a welcome reception in Metz, because of his service for its inhabitants. Equally possible is that, again forced to travel, Metz was a familiar location: he might as well try to settle somewhere he already knew. Finally, he may have believed that he would be able to find another teaching post there. Cooper, in fact, suggests that he did actually teach while in Metz, but this is not supported by any evidence, nor is it endorsed by any other biographer of Tremellius.[257]

Later in 1577, or possibly in early 1578, Tremellius was invited to Sedan, also in France, by Henri La Tour d'Auvergne, Viscount of Turenne, and duke of Bouillon.[258] Henri had recently established an Academy intended primarily for the Huguenot aristocracy. Tremellius was appointed its first Professor of Hebrew; as it turned out, this was the last job he held. Thus, as several authors have commented, he ended his life teaching French students, just as before he had taught students from Italy, Germany and England.[259] According to many accounts from the seventeenth century and after, Tremellius died in Sedan on 9 October 1580, his will having been made only shortly before, on 31 July. Unfortunately, it does not seem that his will has survived, so this can not be independently confirmed. Nonetheless, these details first appear in a work of 1616 written by Jacques Cappel, who was himself a professor of theology at Sedan University; the work is dedicated to the Duke Henri, who had been Tremellius' employer.[260] Tremellius is just mentioned in passing, and the intention here is not to defend his orthodoxy *per se*, which perhaps strengthens his account's claim of reliability. Since Tremellius' death was still relatively recent by the time Cappel came

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257 Cooper and Cooper - 'Tremellius' in Athenae Cantabrigienses, vol.1, p.426
258 Becker, p. 41
259 Ibid., p. 41, followed by Ney (1885), p.3 and his later articles; also see Butters, p. 37
260 Jacques Cappel - Les Livrées de Babel, ou l'Histoire du Siège Romain (Sedan, 1616), p. iii

to write his work, any fabrication would have been easier to spot, and at least in terms of sheer chronology, there was nothing to be gained from changing the details. In addition, the anonymous quotation which heads this chapter would at least endorse the claim that Tremellius died in 1580. In that extract, it is simply stated that Tremellius seemed to be about 70 at the time of his death. The chronology of his early life which has been presented here would perhaps allow for the possibility that he was up to five years younger, but not much older than that assessment.

Tremellius' final moments remain among the most contentious of his life. In part, this may echo the religious transformations he made forty years previously, and also reflect the tensions which his conversions provoked in others. Death, and the possession of a clear conscience, were considered of such importance that many who believed they had lived falsely, in whatever sense, would renounce their errors before death. Thus, it has, on occasion, been suggested that Tremellius denounced his Christianity, preferring to die as a Jew. In the Biographie Universelle, for example, it is written that "On pretend qu'il était retourné à la religion de ses pères".[261] In fact, it seems that this is largely a matter of religious polemic. As Niceron writes: "ainsi c'est à tort que quelques catholiques ont assuré qu'il étoit retourné au Judaïsme & qu'il y était mort".[262] Cappel is more specific when he says "les sieurs Remand & Fernier n'ont point de honte d'escrire qu'il est retourné & peri en son Judaïsme".[263]

It seems more likely that these Catholic writers were seeking to undermine Tremellius' contribution to the Reformed tradition by calling into question his adherence to Protestantism. Needless to say, his fellow Protestants were quick to endorse his commitment. Johann Grynaeus in his 'Apothegm Morientium', claims that Tremellius' dying words were 'Vivat Christus, pereat Barabas,' and these are quoted in several

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261 Biographie Universelle, Vol. 46 (1826), p. 486 ff.
262 R. P. Niceron - Emanuel Tremellius' in Ibid. - Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la république des lettres, avec un catalogue raisonné de leurs Ouvrages (43 vols., Paris, 1729-45), vol. 40 (1739), p. 104
263 Cappel - Les Livrées de Babel, p. iii. It is also quoted in Colomies - Italia et Hispania Orientalis, pp. 110-2

works in defence of his orthodoxy.[264] This restatement of an attachment to Christ, one of the key tenets distinguishing Christianity from Judaism, and the rejection of Barabas, who clearly represents the Jewish faith here, encapsulates this notion. One may still doubt, however, that Tremellius would have actually said such a thing: the phrase is surely merely apocryphal, and a response from his co-religionists to the challenges to his orthodoxy. On the other hand, Tremellius' supporters from Cappel onwards, have directed attention to his will. Not only did he supposedly leave 30 ecus to the poor of Sedan, but he also thanked God for having drawn him away from Judaism, and for having led him to know Jesus Christ.[265] Claims about his will do need to be treated with some degree of scepticism, since we are unable to verify them, but the weight of probability must lie with those who defended him against his opponents. Although perhaps never the most hard-lined of Calvinists, it is not necessary to assume that Tremellius had harboured a covert attachment to Judaism through the last forty years of his life. As we will see in Chapter two, the complex and somewhat ambiguous religious outlook which he employed throughout his career and writings was, in large measure, the product of the particular set of factors which shaped the first decades of his life in Italy.

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264 Colomies - Italia et Hispania Orientalis, p.111; Becker, p.41; and de le Roi - Die evangelische Christenheit, p.55
265 Cappel - Les Livrées de Babel, p.iii

Chapter Two: The Italian Background

Early Influences on Tremellius' Thought

As I noted in Chapter one, the Italian phase of Tremellius' career is the least documented part of his life. Such a situation is by no means untypical. For instance, in her biography of Pier Paolo Vergerio, the bishop of Capodistria until his flight from Italy in 1549, Anne Schutte comments that virtually nothing is known about him "prior to his appearance on the stage of international diplomacy as a papal nuncio in 1533, at the age of about 35".[1] The same could be said about many, if not most, of the other figures of this period who went on to more famous later careers. On the other hand, however, it is clear that, particularly for Tremellius, these years constituted a crucial and highly formative period. Between his birth in around 1510 and his departure from Italy in 1542/3, he received his education, was drawn away from Judaism to Christianity and, indeed, underwent two separate conversions in a very short period of time. Moreover, during these years, he made the acquaintance of a number of the most significant and influential figures associated with various currents of religious thought. It was in this milieu, finally, that he came to form his own particular conception of his newly-adopted faith. While not wishing to overlook the possibility that his religious views may have been modified in the new circumstances of exile, there was nothing as radical as a further conversion, nor anything which would suggest a major change in outlook.

For these reasons, then, in this chapter the relatively scant documentary evidence will be more fully contextualised, in order that the environment in which Tremellius spent the

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[1] Anne Jacobson Schutte - Pier Paolo Vergerio: The Making of an Italian Reformer (Geneva, 1977), p.21

most impressionable part of his life may be better understood.[2] Of course, any conclusions about the Italian phase of Tremellius' life must remain speculative due to the relative lack of evidence. Nonetheless, as we will see in this chapter, enough material survives to place Tremellius in a series of locations, and to associate him with several figures about whom rather more is known. By identifying a range of the most striking intellectual and religious tendencies with which he came into contact, and by comparing these with his later activities and attitudes, it will consequently be possible to say much about the sort of man that Tremellius was by the time he came to leave Italy, and in that way to interpret and better understand his actions thereafter.

Ferrara

As we saw in Chapter one, Tremellius spent at least the first twenty years of his life in Ferrara. Ferrara was the most eastern of the major cities of the Po Valley. During the late middle ages, a hereditary nobility had established a firm control over the town; the nobility was then, in its turn, dominated from 1332 by a hereditary dynasty, the Este, who ruled first as marquises and then, from 1471, as dukes of Ferrara, until 1597/8, when the city was incorporated into the papal territories. It was under the rule of the

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[2] On the culture of Italy during this period, see Peter Burke - The Italian Renaissance. Culture and Society in Italy (Cambridge, 1993), Eric Cochrane - Italy 1530-1630 (London and New York, 1993), and Denys Hay and John Law - Italy in the Age of the Renaissance, 1380-1530 (London, 1989). As for the religious context, the following are all useful: Euan Cameron - 'Italy' in Andrew D. M. Pettegree (Ed.) - The Early Reformation in Europe (Cambridge, 1992), pp.188-214, Delio Cantimori - Eretici Italiani del Cinquecento. Ricerche Storiche (Florence, 1939, 1967). Salvatore Caponetto - La Riforma Protestante nell'Italia del Cinquecento (Turin, 1992), translated by Anne C. Tedeschi and John Tedeschi as The Protestant Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Italy (Kirksville, Missouri, 1999), Massimo Firpo - Riforma protestante ed eresie nell'Italia del Cinquecento. Un profilo storico (Bari, 1993), Manfred Welti - Breve Storia della Riforma Italiana trans. Armidio Rizzi (Marietti, 1985), Elisabeth G. Gleason - 'On the Nature of the Sixteenth-Century Italian Evangelism: Scholarship 1953-1978' in SCJ 9 (1978), pp.3-25, Ibid. (Ed. and trans.) - Reform Thought in Sixteenth-Century Italy (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1981), Bruce Gordon - 'Italy' in Andrew Pettegree (Ed.) - The Reformation World (London and New York, 2000), pp.277-95, Eva-Maria Jung - 'On the Nature of Italian Evangelism in the Sixteenth Century' in Journal of the History of Ideas 14 (1953), pp.511-27, Silvana Seidel Menchi - 'Italy' in Bob Scribner, Roy Porter and Mikulas Teich (Eds.) - The Reformation in National Context (Cambridge, 1994), pp.181-201, Anne J. Schutte - Printed Italian Vernacular Religious, 1450-1550: A Finding List (Geneva, 1983), Ibid. - 'Periodization of Sixteenth-Century Italian Religious History: The Post-Cantimori Paradigm Shift' in JMH 61 (1989), pp.269-84

Este that Ferrara was turned from a "dreary provincial backwater" into an elegant and prosperous regional capital with its own distinctive architectural and cultural style.[3] Niccolo III (1393-1441), and his three sons Leonello (1441-50), Borso (1450-71) and, above all, Ercole I (1471-1505), were responsible for the transformation of the city. Much of Ferrara was destroyed in an earthquake of 1570. Yet, as Tuohy has recently shown in his reconstruction of the physical appearance of Herculean Ferrara, Ercole d'Este, in particular, had been responsible for a substantial building programme around the turn of the century, only shortly before Tremellius' birth.[4] Indeed, as Ruderman has commented, Ferrara at the end of the fifteenth century was "a municipality of imposing palaces, spacious avenues, extensive gardens, and monumental church edifices, as well as the site of splendiferous pageants and religious festivals".[5] Living in Ferrara during the first decades of the sixteenth century, Tremellius could not have failed to be aware of the culture of the Renaissance all around him.

The patronage of the Este was not confined to the appearance of the city, however; during the fifteenth century, their court played host to a number of prominent artistic and literary figures.[6] Indeed it was during the reign of Ercole I, that Ferrara really stated its claim to cultural significance. As Gundersheimer notes, in his 34-year reign, Ercole I "presided over the most important cultural and artistic developments in the city's long history".[7] Among the literary figures who were present were the great vernacular poet Matteo Maria Boiardo, Tito Vespasiano di Messer Nanni Strozzi, Ercole Strozzi, Antonio Tebaldi, Antonio Cammelli, Francesco Bello and Ludovico Ariosto, whose Orlando Furioso was written as a sequel to Boiardo's Orlando innamorato.[8] As for

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[3] For Ferrara in the middle ages, see for instance Werner L. Gundersheimer - Ferrara. The Style of a Renaissance Despotism (Princeton, New Jersey, 1973) , especially chapters 1 and 2, and Ella Noyes - The Story of Ferrara (London, 1904), chapters 1 and 2. The quotation comes from Gundersheimer p.13.
[4] Thomas Tuohy - Herculean Ferrara. Ercole d'Este, 1471-1505, and the Invention of a Ducal Capital (Cambridge, 1996)
[5] David B. Ruderman - The World of a Renaissance Jew. The Life and Thought of Abraham ben Mordecai Farissol (Cincinnati, 1981), p.14
[6] See Marianne Pade, Lene Waage Petersen and Daniela Quarta (Eds.) - La Corte di Ferrara e il Suo Mecenatismo 1441-1598. The Court of Ferrara and Its Patronage (Copenhagen, 1990)
[7] Gundersheimer - Ferrara p.174. On Ercole I, see Ibid. pp.173-228, for instance.
[8] See, for example, the chapter on 'The Poets of the Herculean Circle' in Edmund G. Gardner - Dukes and Poets in Ferrara. A Study in the Poetry, Religion and Politics in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth

artists, during the fifteenth century, the Este employed Pisanello, Mantegna, Piero della Francesca and Rogier van der Weyden, as well as many native Ferrarans.[9]

Although Ercole I is often regarded as the greatest patron among the Este, it is evident that much of what he represented was continued under his successor, Alfonso I (1505-34). As Bacchelli remarks: "The period 1520-1550... was for Ferrara an age of literary, scientific and artistic flowering, no less than the second half of the fifteenth century."[10] The period Tremellius spent in Ferrara, from about 1510 to 1530 or so, in fact, fell entirely within the reign of Alfonso I. Following a short-lived marriage to the daughter of the Duke of Milan, Anne Sforza, who died in childbirth in 1497, Alfonso had in 1501 married Lucrezia Borgia, the daughter of Pope Alexander VI. Indeed, it is she who is generally credited with the furtherance of the cultural and social life of the court while Alfonso involved himself in matters of statecraft and war.[11] Regardless of who was its director, the Este court remained a focus of cultural activity. Musicians and literary figures continued to be attracted to the court. Agostino Mosti, in his chronicle of Ferrarese court life records the regular musical performances, readings from romances, comedies and tragedies, and even the performance of plays.[12] The vernacular poetry of Boiardo was performed there, while the first versions of Ariosto's Orlando Furioso were produced during the reign of Alfonso. As for the artistic sphere, Alfonso continued his predecessor's practice of inviting in artists from outside, including Raphael, Michelangelo, Giovanni Bellini and Titian.[13] However, that did not prevent him from also patronising local painters, such as Tura, Cossa, Roberti, Garofalo

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Centuries (London, 1904), pp.468-92. On Boiardo, see Ibid., pp.253-94.

[9] See, for instance, the many examples contained in the catalogue, Patrick Mathiesen et al - From Borso to Cesare d'Este, 1471-1505. The School of Ferrara 1450-1628. An Exhibition in Aid of the Courtauld Institute of Art Trust Appeal 1984 (London and Leicester, 1984)

[10] Franco Bacchelli - 'Science, Cosmology and Religion in Ferrara, 1520-1550' in Luisa Ciammitti, Steven F. Ostrow and Salvatore Settis (Eds.) - Dosso's Fate: Painting and Court Culture in Renaissance Italy (Los Angeles, 1998), p.335

[11] Gardner - Dukes and Poets, p.495

[12] Described in Andrea Bayer - 'Dosso's Public: The Este Court at Ferrara' in Peter Humfrey, Mauro Lucco and Andrea Bayer (Eds.) - Dosso Dossi. Court Painter in Renaissance Ferrara (New York, 1998), p.30

[13] For the last two, see in particular John Walker - Bellini and Titian at Ferrara. A Study of Styles and Taste (London, 1956).

and Dosso Dossi.[14] Thus not only was Tremellius living in a Renaissance town, in the sense that the buildings established at the end of the fifteenth century by Ercole I were in the Renaissance style, but it also had a vibrant and continuing cultural life throughout his time in that city. While as a Jew it is unlikely that he would have frequented the Court himself, the culture of the Court must have had a more widely-felt impact on Ferrara as a whole.

Tremellius would most likely have come into contact with Renaissance culture in the course of his education, too.[15] Unfortunately, he makes no remarks about the education he received, nor the context in which it took place. A high proportion of Jews in the Renaissance period were educated by private tutors, but this was, more often than not, because many towns contained only one or two Jewish families.[16] Ferrara, by contrast, had a sizeable Jewish population so it is more likely that, unless Tremellius' family was particularly wealthy and decided to employ a tutor anyway, he attended the elementary school of the Jewish community there.[17] In that event, he would almost certainly have received instruction from Abraham ben Mordecai Farissol (1452-1528).[18] Born in Avignon, Farissol had moved to Italy with his family at the age of 17, and settled in Ferrara in around 1472. Within a couple of years, because of his talent for writing Hebrew, and his extensive Jewish and secular knowledge, he was appointed by the Jewish community as a teacher. In addition, in around 1475, he was appointed permanent 'hazan', that is the leader of the worship service.[19] Despite some initial problems, Farissol appears to have held the post of teacher until his death in around

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[14] Cecil Gould - 'The Golden Age of Painting at Ferrara' in Mathiesen - From Borso to Cesare d'Este, p.12 Dossi in fact became the court artist under Alfonso I. For a summary of his career, see Peter Humfrey - 'Dosso Dossi: His Life and Works' in Peter Humfrey, Mauro Lucco and Andrea Payer (Eds.) - Dosso Dossi. Court Painter in Renaissance Ferrara (New York, 1998), pp.3-16.

[15] On Jewish education generally see Moses A. Shulvass - The Jews in the World of the Renaissance (Leiden, 1973), pp.168-72

[16] Ibid., p.169

[17] On the Jewish community of Ferrara, see also Elliott Horowitz - 'Jewish Confraternal Piety in Sixteenth-Century Ferrara: Continuity and Change' in Nicholas Terpstra (Ed.) - The Politics of Ritual Kinship. Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy (Cambridge, 2001), pp.150-71.

[18] Farissol's life and principal writings are discussed in Ruderman - World of a Renaissance Jew

[19] Ibid., p.18

1528, although he did also make occasional visits to other Italian cities during this period.[20]

Farissol was responsible for the teaching of the primary subjects, including grammar, the art of writing, rhetoric and some elementary logic.[21] Little direct information relates to his lessons, but from 1517 we have his commentary on another work, Avot, perhaps the most widely-known talmudic work, in which he discusses his teaching activities. Ruderman argues that while this work was written relatively late in his life, it most likely reflects the educational positions Farissol held throughout his career.[22] In the introduction, Farissol explains that the entire work was intended to be used as a textbook for "teaching the compendium of rabbinic aphorisms". Throughout the work he emphasises the importance of both simplicity and concentration for effective teaching. Following the traditional curriculum of Jewish studies, Farissol sought to lead his subjects from simple to more complex subjects. It would seem, furthermore, that biblical and rabbinic studies were integrated with the study of grammar, rhetoric and logic. Interestingly, Farissol was also critical of the tendency to neglect the study of the Bible in favour of an exclusive concern with the traditional rabbinic texts.[23]

On top of Farissol's own testimony, we also have the impressions of the French humanist, François Tissard, who was tutored by Farissol during the former's stay in Ferrara at the start of the sixteenth century.[24] Although Farissol is not mentioned by name, historians have long realised that he is the teacher to whom Tissard refers in his De Iudaeorum ritibus compendium, which he appended to his Hebrew grammar of 1508, the first to be published in France. Towards the end of the work, Tissard praises Farissol as a public teacher of Hebrew, especially in the rudiments of grammar, and as an expert in the art of cantorial singing.[25] He then describes their educational

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[20] Ibid., p.16
[21] Ibid., pp.15-17
[22] Ibid., p.18
[23] Ibid., p.18
[24] Ibid., pp.98-106
[25] Ibid., p.104 As Ruderman notes, this was another of Farissol's duties.

arrangement. Farissol evidently instructed him in biblical grammar and the interpretation of the Hebrew Bible. The two would also enter into religious disputations. As Ruderman notes, "Tissard had not simply engaged Farissol to master Hebrew literature and grammar. The framework of his private instruction provided an opportunity for debate on the theological interpretation of biblical texts".[26] While Tissard felt Farissol's Latin was lacking, he remarked that he "was well-versed in both Judaism and Christianity, possessed a clear mastery of the Old and New Testaments, and was knowledgeable in talmudic and cabalistic literature, as well as in other areas".[27] As the principal teacher to the Jewish community between 1510 and his death in 1528, it is highly probable that Farissol was Tremellius' first Jewish teacher. In that event, the emphasis on the Bible in Farissol's teaching, and his knowledge of Christian doctrines, may well have provided the first spark of interest in these matters which led ultimately to Tremellius' conversion. The emphasis on grammar and rhetoric, too, would find echoes in Tremellius' own later biblical scholarship.

While it is to be doubted that Tremellius was part of the Court of Alfonso I, there is a rather greater chance that he could have joined that of Renée of France, especially if, as Butters suggests, he converted to Calvinism while still in Ferrara.[28] In 1528, Renée married the eldest son of Alfonso I, Ercole II, who would become Duke in 1534. She brought with her to Ferrara a retinue of more than 160 people, a group which included various artists and men of letters, as well as numerous servants. Moreover, as Bacchelli has remarked "For more than 20 years, this court-within-a-court formed a space in which French cultural and heterodox religious figures were welcome during their journeys through Italy."[29] Renée de France remains a somewhat ambiguous figure. Blaisdell has sought to reconstruct her beliefs as much as possible, but is forced to admit that "we cannot plot the course of her religious evolution with certainty".[30] Evidently,

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[26] Ibid., p.104
[27] Quoted in ibid., p.104
[28] For Renée's pre-Ferraran career, see, for example, Charmarie Jenkins Blaisdell - 'Renée de France between Reform and Counter-Reform' in ARG 63 (1972), especially pp.198-201; c.f. Butters, p.5
[29] Bacchelli - 'Science, Cosmology and Religion', p.335
[30] Blaisdell - 'Renée de France', p.203

from her arrival in Ferrara Renée was sympathetic to the ideas of the humanist reformers (she had, after all, reached adulthood during the "liberal" years of Francis I's reign, i.e. before 1534); in her entourage, moreover, were reform-minded members of the French aristocracy, including her governess, Madame de Soubise, and her family. Lutheran ideas had existed in Ferrara before the arrival of the duchess, but in the years immediately following, several strands of Italian heterodox belief and French Calvinism were also introduced.[31]

By about 1535, moreover, Renée's court had become known as a haven for religious fugitives, especially from France. In that year, the Duke was forced into arresting and prosecuting certain members of Renée's court who had publicly aired their heterodox views. Renée, for her part, supported their claims to immunity from the Duke's courts on the grounds that they were foreigners. Ultimately, she won their release and safe conduct from Ferrara.[32] Then, in the following year, John Calvin spent several weeks during the summer at Renée's court.[33] He had just published in Basle the first edition of the Institutio Christianae religionis. His visit was brief and clandestine and has consequently been incorporated into Protestant legend. Calvin himself never mentioned his sojourn in Ferrara, but thereafter he and the Duchess did correspond regularly. It is likely that Calvin, who appreciated the importance of converting princes and members of the ruling classes, for the propagation of the gospel, was seeking to win over the daughter of Louis XII and the sister-in-law of Francis I. While Renée apparently retained a less defined and more tolerant attitude to religion, Calvin was her principal connection to the reform movement.[34]

As we saw in the first chapter, while it has been traditional to suggest that Tremellius left Ferrara in 1530, the evidence for this is flimsy; it is quite likely, indeed, that he remained there for some years into that decade. It would probably be too contrived to

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31 Caponetto - Protestant Reformation, p.234-44
32 Ibid., pp.203-4
33 On this see Ibid., pp.205-6 and Caponetto - Protestant Reformation, pp.234-5
34 Blaisdell - 'Renée de France', p.206

suggest that Tremellius, who would go on to adopt a form of Calvinism in the early 1540s, had actually encountered Calvin himself in Ferrara half a dozen years before, although such an occurrence cannot entirely be discounted. Nonetheless, the religious ideas which were expressed in Renée's court from 1528 constituted a further important element in the cultural milieu, and would also have shaped the environment in which he experienced his later teenage years.

The University of Padua

As we saw in the last chapter, it is generally considered that Tremellius attended the University of Padua, although this cannot be confirmed with certainty. As a Jew, his name would not have been entered in the formal records of the university, regardless of whether or not he were attending classes.[35] From this period, the sources simply attest to his associations with the Cardinals Alessandro Farnese and Reginald Pole, and Marcantonio Flaminio, but without mention of date or location. While accepting the possibility that Tremellius may have spent at least some of the 1530s elsewhere, this chapter will work from the assumption that the arguments presented in the previous chapter are sufficient to merit the retention of Padua in Tremellius' chronology.

In Padua, Tremellius would have continued to be exposed to the culture of the Renaissance in its various forms, not least through his studies at the University, but he would also have encountered various trends of religious reform, including those associated with the Reformation in northern Europe.[36] The location of Padua certainly contributed to this. It was situated near to the Holy Roman Empire, and was thus more readily exposed to northern influences. Students, merchants and travellers from north of the Alps all frequented the Italian town. In addition, Padua was close to Venice, from

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[35] Maria Rosa di Simone - 'Admission' in Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Ed.) - A History of the University in Europe, vol. II, Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800) (Cambridge, 1996, 1997), pp.294-5

[36] This assumes that Tremellius had moved away from Ferrara before Renée's court had really developed as a haven for religious refugees from France.

where the new religious ideas spread throughout the peninsula. Indeed, as Caponetto remarks, "After the Sack of Rome and the fall of the Florentine Republic in 1530, Venice and the University of Padua became the leading Italian cultural centers, channels for the diffusion of European intellectual life."[37]

Much has been written about the place of Venice in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It was generally regarded as a bastion of republicanism and the sole opponent, within Italy, to the demands of the Roman church.[38] This was closely connected to the fact that it was one of the greatest commercial cities of the Mediterranean. Not only did this make it easier for heretics to infiltrate that city than many others, but it also made the government rather more reluctant to enforce orthodoxy and laws emanating from Rome if it risked alienating a proportion of those upon whom the economy depended.[39] This played its part in the development of a vibrant intellectual atmosphere in Venice with discussions, on a wide variety of subjects, taking place in the schools, academies, and gatherings in the homes of patrician families.[40]

More importantly still, Venice was the leading publishing centre in the whole of Europe throughout the sixteenth century.[41] As a commercial centre, and as a place with a

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37 Caponetto - Protestant Reformation, p.191

38 See William J. Bouwsma - Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty: Renaissance Values in the Age of the Counter-Reformation (Berkeley, 1968)

39 See on heretics in Venice, John J. Martin - Venice's Hidden Enemies: Italian Heretics in a Renaissance City (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1993), and his numerous articles including 'Popular Culture and the Shaping of Popular Heresy in Renaissance Venice' in Stephen Haliczer (Ed.) - Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe (New Jersey, 1987), pp.115-28 and 'Salvation and Society in Sixteenth-Century Venice: Popular Evangelism in a Renaissance City' in JMH 60 (1988), pp.205-33. Also on Venice see Brian Pullan - Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: The Social Institutions of a Catholic State (Oxford, 1971) and Ibid. - The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice, 1550-1670 (London and New York, 1983, 1997)

40 Caponetto - Protestant Reformation, p.191. On schooling in Venice, see for instance Paul F. Grendler - 'What Zuanne Read in School: Vernacular Texts in Sixteenth-Century Venetian Schools' in SCJ 13 (1982), pp.41-54. More generally on education, see Paul F. Grendler - Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning 1300-1600 (Baltimore and London, 1989)

41 Among the most important items relating to this broad subject are: Paul F. Grendler - The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540-1605 (Princeton, New Jersey, 1977), which is among the works reviewed in Gaetano Cozzi - 'Books and Society' in JMH 51 (1979), pp.86-98; Ugo Rozzo and Silvana Seidel Menchi - 'The Book and the Reformation in Italy' in Jean-François Gilmont (Ed.) - The Reformation and the Book (English edition and translation by Karin Maag) (Aldershot, 1990, 1998), pp.319-67, Anne Jacobson Schutte - 'Printing, Piety and the People in Italy: The First Thirty Years' in ARG 71 (1980), pp.5-20; Ibid. - Printed Italian Vernacular Religious Books, 1450-1550; and Laurie

well-established book trade and market, Venice was also one of the principal locations through which books were smuggled into Italy.[42] Even if, as is becoming increasingly evident, the Venetian government was primarily pragmatic in its decision-making, its concern for the rights of its printers and booksellers, and the desire not to damage its trade, inclined it to a policy of tolerance.[43] The net result of this was that books of a heretical nature were readily available in Venice throughout this period; from there, they could be distributed to many other locations, among which nearby Padua, the University town of the Veneto, was one of the most important.[44]

The University of Padua was one of the oldest universities of Europe, having been founded in 1222.[45] At the start of the sixteenth century, it was still one of the most prestigious institutions of learning across the continent.[46] Following a temporary closure between 1509 and 1517 because of the War of the League of Cambrai, it came to assume a remarkable position in matters of Italian reform. While Padua as a whole was exposed early to the intellectual currents of the Reformation, the University seems to have acted as a particular focus for heterodox belief and activity. Not least because of existing mercantile connections, many German students came to study at Padua. Grendler suggests that German students constituted anywhere between 100 and 300 of the 1000 to 1500 students in any given year, and that they were protected by the Venetian government, despite their adherence to Protestantism for various reasons. The

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Nussdorfer - Review of Dennis E. Rhodes - Silent Printers: Anonymous Printing at Venice in the Sixteenth Century in SCJ 28 (1997), pp.524-5

42 On this, see the arguments of Grendler - The Roman Inquisition and the introduction, also written by Grendler, to J. M. de Bujanda - Index de Venise 1549, Venise et Milan 1554 (1987), and the respective reviews of these by Cozzi - 'Books and Society', and Andrea del Col in SCJ 20 (1989), pp.152-3. See also Paul F. Grendler - 'The Circulation of Protestant Books in Italy' in Joseph C. McLelland (Ed.) - Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform (Ontario, Canada, 1980), pp.5-16

43 On these themes see Antonio Santossuoso - 'Religious Orthodoxy, Dissent and Suppression in Venice in the 1540s' in CH 42 (1973), pp.476-85 and Ibid. - 'Religion, More Veneto and the Trial of Pier Paolo Vergerio' in Joseph C. McLelland (Ed.) - Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform (Ontario, Canada, 1980), pp.43-51

44 See Paul F. Grendler - 'The Circulation of Protestant Books in Italy' in McLelland (Ed.) - Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform, pp.5-16

45 Jacques Verger - 'Patterns' in Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Ed.) - A History of the University in Europe, vol. 1: Universities in the Middle Ages (Cambridge etc., 1992), p.62

46 On Padua University, see, for instance, Jonathan Woolfson - Padua and the Tudors. English Students in Italy, 1485-1603 (Cambridge, 1998)

government did not wish to offend the German princes by refusing to accept German students; these Germans contributed between 25 and 30,000 ducats a year to the local economy; and the government believed that the presence of many foreign students enhanced the prestige of the University.[47] Rome tried to insist that all students should make a profession of faith before receiving their degrees, but this was never enforced.[48] Di Simone, who describes the University of Padua as "always a haven of tolerance and of liberty" notes that, in the 1550s alone, over 6,000 German students registered in the various faculties of the university.[49]

Their presence, and the books which they brought with them, undoubtedly helped with the dissemination of Protestant doctrines. Indeed, Cantimori goes so far as to suggest that by the end of the first decade of the sixteenth century, the University of Padua, along with the commercial centres of Pavia, Venice, Bologna and Milan, had itself begun to serve as a distributor of Lutheran literature.[50] He then goes on to say that, in 1531, around the time of Tremellius' presumed arrival in Padua, "Lutheran doctrine seems to have been fashionable among the students of the university of Padua".[51] Furthermore, it is surely more than coincidence that many of the leading figures associated with the Italian reform movements of the first half of the century studied there at some point in their careers. Gasparo Contarini's period of study was only ended by the outbreak of the War of the League of Cambrai.[52] In the period after it reopened, Marcantonio Flaminio,[53] Pier Paolo Vergerio,[54] Peter Martyr Vermigli,[55] Reginald

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47 Paul F. Grendler - 'The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540-1605' in JMH 47 (1975), p.58
48 Ibid., p.59
49 di Simone - 'Admission', p.294
50 Delio Cantimori - 'Italy and the Papacy' in G.R.Elton (Ed.) - The New Cambridge Modern History, vol. 2 The Reformation 1520-59 (Cambridge, 1958, 1990), p.293
51 Cantimori - 'Italy and the Papacy', p.293
52 Elisabeth G. Gleason - Gasparo Contarini: Venice, Rome and Reform (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford, 1993), p.8 Also on Contarini see James Bruce Ross - 'Gasparo Contarini and His Friends' in Studies in the Renaissance 17 (1970), pp.192-232 and Ibid. - 'The Emergence of Gasparo Contarini: A Bibliographical Essay' in CH 41 (1972), pp.22-45
53 Carol Maddison - Marcantonio Flaminio, Poet, Humanist and Reformer (London, 1965), pp.24-37 Also on Flaminio see Alessandro Pastore - Marcantonio Flaminio, Fortune e Sfortune di un Chierico nell'Italia del Cinquecento (Milan, 1981)
54 Schutte - Pier Paolo Vergerio, pp.27-34
55 McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy, pp.86-115

Pole[56] and Giovanni Morone[57] all studied there, to name only some of the most famous figures. It was in this environment, then, that Tremellius experienced his university education.

The Circle of Cardinal Pole

While the association with Cardinal Farnese may well have had an impact upon Tremellius, not least because of his prestige, the one he enjoyed with Cardinal Pole must have been profound. Not only was Pole chiefly responsible for Tremellius' baptism, as we saw in Chapter one, but he was also one of the leading figures of the group of reform-minded Italians often referred to as the 'spirituali'.[58] In her seminal article on Italian evangelism, a term often used to describe the 'spirituali', Eva-Maria Jung defined this phenomenon as undogmatic, aristocratic and transitory.[59] Although this attitude does remain in some modern literature, a range of local studies have shown that Italy was in fact home to a sizeable minority of Protestants, drawn from a fairly broad section of society.[60]

Nonetheless, the 'spirituali' remain the best known representatives of reform within the Italian context. Elisabeth Gleason, in her response to Jung's earlier article has emphasised, moreover, that the adherents of this movement favoured church reform, and shared a belief in justification by faith, among other things.[61] Paolo Simoncelli has

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[56] Wilhelm Schenk - Reginald Pole, Cardinal of England (London, New York, Toronto, 1950), pp.7-9; Dermot Fenlon - Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy: Cardinal Pole and the Counter Reformation (Cambridge, 1972), pp.24-5. Thomas Mayer - Reginald Pole, Prince and Prophet (Cambridge, 2000), p.48

[57] On Morone more generally, see Massimo Firpo - Inquisizione Romana e Controriforma, Studi sul Cardinal Giovanni Morone e il suo processo d'eresia (Bologna, 1992)

[58] Mayer - Reginald Pole, pp.8-9 retains this term in relation to Pole in his recent biography, albeit with certain caveats.

[59] Eva-Maria Jung - 'On The Nature of Evangelism in Sixteenth-Century Italy' in Journal of the History of Ideas 14 (1953), p.520

[60] Andrew Pettegree - Europe in the Sixteenth Century (Oxford, 2002), p.112: "Italian evangelism remained an elite movement". c.f. Martin - Venice's Hidden Heretics, for instance.

[61] Elisabeth G. Gleason - 'On the Nature of sixteenth century Italian evangelism: scholarship, 1953-1978' in SCJ 9 (1978), pp.3-25

recently attempted to interpret the 'spirituali' as a political movement, identifying both a moderate and a radical wing to it, but as Hudon's study of Marcello Cervini, who became Pope Marcellus II, has shown, such a characterisation risks over-simplification.[62] Rather, the 'spirituali' are perhaps best thought of as the members of a number of overlapping groups of intellectuals and churchmen whose religious beliefs were fluid and synthetic: they drew on a wide range of theological and spiritual currents, from both Italy and northern Europe, and combined them according to individual taste and temperament. Nonetheless, especially in the early stages of this movement, minds remained open, and discussion of these ideas remained the focus of the different cells of reform.

Determining Pole's beliefs is far from straightforward, not least because they continued to develop during the 1530s and 1540s. Moreover, Pole himself left no clear statement of his belief, leaving it open for historians to interpret his actions, silence and oblique statements in substantially different ways. His contemporaries, too, were clearly unsure what to make of him: in 1549 he was very nearly elected Pope, but in 1556, he was summoned to Rome by Pope Paul IV (Carafa), and had he gone, it is likely that he would have had to face the Inquisition. Pole's attitude to Contarini's achievements at the Colloquy of Regensburg are similarly problematic. Fenlon contends that while Pole was certainly delighted by the agreement that Contarini achieved at Regensburg, he also had certain reservations about the formula, particularly that the doctrine agreed was insufficiently based on Scripture.[63]

Mayer, however, points out that Pole intentionally avoided supporting Contarini's formulation at Rome,[64] but this could of course be read in more than one way: it is

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62 Paolo Simoncelli - Evangelismo italiano del cinquecento. Questione religiosa e nicodemismo politico (Rome, 1979), p.44 ff.; c.f. William V. Hudon - Marcello Cervini and Ecclesiastical Government in Tridentine Italy (De Kalb, Illinois, 1992)

63 Fenlon - Heresy and Obedience, pp.60-1 On Regensburg, see Basil Hall - 'The Colloquies between Catholics and Protestants, 1539-41' in Studies in Church History 7 (1971), pp.235-66 and Peter Matheson - Cardinal Contarini at Regensburg (Oxford, 1972)

64 Mayer - Reginald Pole, p.105

equally possible that Pole appreciated the value of keeping his opinions largely to himself, and sought to exploit the gap between his personal beliefs and his official statements on potentially controversial subjects. Fenlon further argues that Pole regarded as heretical "an attitude which rejected doctrines such as that of purgatory, which were taught explicitly by the Church".[65] This conception, however, gave him a certain freedom when it came to concepts such as justification, which had not yet been defined. Furthermore, by the time he was at Viterbo, texts like Valdés' commentary on Romans, Bucer's commentaries on Matthew and Romans, and Luther on the Psalms all circulated within his entourage.[66]

In a work written on the eve of Trent, treating the scope and nature of that Council, Pole addressed the issue of salvation.[67] In this treatise, as Fenlon notes, Pole did nothing to dissociate himself from the doctrine of salvation by faith alone; rather, he objected to those who preached it in such a way as to discredit the institutions of the Church.[68] Nonetheless, he remained rather enigmatic on the subject, keeping a place also for good works. In summary, Fenlon remarks that Pole's attitude was "to believe as if salvation depended upon faith alone, while acting as if it were dependent on works".[69] Fenlon ultimately contends that, despite initial doubts, Pole was persuaded to alter his beliefs on justification, following the decrees of Trent on the matter; even if he did not fully share the views expressed at the Council, he renounced his earlier beliefs.[70] Mayer, however, does not seem to share Fenlon's assessment completely, drawing attention to "Pole's ostentatious refusal to associate himself with the decree".[71]

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65 Fenlon - Heresy and Obedience, p.90
66 Ibid., p.91 On Pole at Viterbo more generally, see Mayer - Reginald Pole, pp.103-42
67 Pole - De Concilio See Mayer - Reginald Pole, pp.143-7
68 Fenlon - Heresy and Obedience, p.109
69 Ibid., p.114
70 Ibid., pp.200-8. Fenlon writes: "it can scarcely be doubted that Pole, by the time of his return to England (and perhaps even earlier) had overcome his objections to the doctrine of justification which had been defined at Trent", p.208
71 Mayer - Reginald Pole, p.161

Yet one should avoid being overly critical of Pole. It would be rather simplistic to accuse him of heresy. He was certainly aware of evangelical and Reformation doctrines, undoubtedly discussed them, and read the works of various Protestant reformers. He may indeed, at least tacitly, have endorsed some of their views. Yet until the Council of Trent, on many of these issues, there was no formal statement of orthodoxy from which to diverge. In any case, he never sought to spread the new ideas beyond his close social circle, nor was his obedience to the Catholic Church ever in doubt. In both regards, he typified one significant element among the 'spirituali'. Those who had fled Italy ultimately gained a greater notoriety, but there were others, often holding high positions within the Church, who would ultimately defer to its authority when called to do so. Before that point came, however, they would make a contrast between a theology for the masses, and one for the educated who were able to appreciate subtle distinctions in such matters.[72] This attitude must have appealed to an academic like Tremellius. So too must Pole's desire for Christian concord, which lay at the root of his desire to endorse the Regensburg agreement, and his biblicism, on which grounds he did not fully accept it. At the same time, while it would seem fair to say that through Pole, Tremellius was brought into a milieu in which evangelism held a certain currency, in Padua he only made the first step on his religious journey: the initiation into the Christian faith, and the acceptance of Catholicism.

As we saw in the previous chapter, Marcantonio Flaminio is mentioned twice in the account of Tremellius' baptism given in De Antiquitate Britannicae, although he does not really seem to have an obvious role in this event. As we also saw, if Flaminio's inclusion is correct, then Tremellius' baptism cannot have occurred until Pole had moved on to Viterbo. If, on the other hand, he was not present, his name has been added for polemical reasons. In either event, Flaminio's theological position needs to be considered. Flaminio was certainly among the best-known members of Pole's

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[72] See William V. Hudon - 'Two Instructions to Preachers from the Tridentine Reformation' in SCJ 20 (1989), pp.457-70

household, not least because of his humanist poetry,[73] but this is surely not enough to explain his inclusion in the account of Tremellius' baptism. More important was his association with Juan de Valdés: Flaminio had been one of the circle which had gathered around the Spaniard in Naples during the 1530s. The heterodox ideas associated with Valdés and his followers will be discussed more fully in relation to Peter Martyr, since his association with Tremellius is entirely beyond question. For the time being, it is enough to remark that they were heretical, and at least partly inspired by Protestantism.

Two very different explanations have been given for what drew Flaminio to Pole's household at Viterbo. Ludovico Beccadelli, in his biography of Pole, relates that his subject invited Flaminio to Viterbo because he was worried about the opinions which Flaminio had acquired in conversation with Valdés in Naples, and that in Viterbo Pole managed to reform Flaminio to orthodoxy.[74] As Mayer notes, Beccadelli used Pole's treatment of Flaminio as an example of "Pole's gentle way of dealing with heretics designed to persuade them to re-enter the Church".[75] However, drawing on Pole's own words, Mayer suggests that, in fact, Flaminio, rather than Pole, provided the spiritual leadership of the group in Viterbo.[76] He also notes that this impression is reinforced by the Processo Morone, in which Flaminio was called Pole's "cor et anima".[77]

It has further been argued that in Viterbo, Flaminio was acting as a committed apostle of Valdés, deliberately proselytising Pole and his household. Firpo has suggested that Flaminio's role in Viterbo was part of a larger campaign, conceived shortly before Valdés' death, to spread the message of the Naples circle.[78] Mayer offers several obstacles to this theory, including the leisurely manner in which Flaminio and

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[73] See on this especially Maddison - Marcantonio Flaminio, passim
[74] Fenlon - Heresy and Obedience, p.89
[75] Mayer - Reginald Pole, p.117 For the Beccadelli text, see Ibid. pp.117-8
[76] Ibid., p.116
[77] Ibid., p.116; c.f. Firpo - Inquisizione Romana e Controriforma
[78] Massimo Firpo - Tra alumbrados e «spirituali». Studi su Juan de Valdés e il Valdesianesimo nella crisi religiosa del '500 italiano (Florence, 1990), pp.135-6

Carnesecchi travelled towards Pole, and the fact that Pole was already disposed to many of the ideas that they brought with him.[79] The complexity of the situation makes stark statements either way unwise: as Mayer himself notes, Flaminio and Pole held a set of beliefs relatively close to each other along the same spectrum. They had met before, and they were reading the same selection of texts, most of which themselves drew heavily upon the Bible. They would surely have agreed upon much, and probably enjoyed hearing how the other justified his views on the subjects on which they did not. The absence of dogmatism, such an important characteristic of Italian evangelism, meant that its adherents could decide, within reason, the exact nature of their own faith.

Tremellius may have been introduced to Valdesian thought in Viterbo, but he could not have felt the full impact of that movement until he was in Lucca. On the other hand, the presence of Flaminio should give some indication of the environment of Pole's household in about 1540. The claim, put forward by Beccadelli for instance, that Pole had brought Flaminio to Viterbo in order to return him to orthodoxy does not seem to have been widely believed; indeed, Pole's household was viewed with some suspicion, especially by the more extremist elements of the Catholic Church. In the summer of 1557, Pope Paul IV had Morone imprisoned by the Inquisition, and summoned Pole to Rome. In an interview with the Venetian ambassador, he attacked Pole, Morone and Priuli, before going on to say of Flaminio: "were he alive now, [he] would have to be burned".[80] This posthumous condemnation, moreover, perhaps explains why Flaminio should be said to have been involved in Tremellius' baptism: the mere mention of his name was enough to undermine Tremellius' orthodoxy.

Although Tremellius' baptism came at the end of the decade, one must imagine that it arose out of a longer and close friendship. Indeed, it is surely not too much to suggest that in the period immediately preceding his conversion at least, Tremellius would have come into contact with members of Pole's entourage, and also with many of his circle of

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[79] Mayer - Reginald Pole, pp.116-7
[80] Schenk - Reginald Pole, p.136

friends. Many of these connections must remain conjectural, not least because of Pole's itinerancy during the 1530s. He had arrived in Padua before the end of October 1532, and apparently remained there or thereabouts until he was called to Rome in July 1536.[81] Over the next five years or so, until his departure to Viterbo in August 1541, he was far less consistently in Padua: he was in Rome for much of this time, as well as being involved on various legations.[82]

Mayer quotes Priuli's description of the quasi-monastic discipline of Pole's household in Verona. It is not exactly clear to which date the description refers, but it most likely comes from the later 1530s.[83] According to this routine, the members of the household assembled in a little private church an hour and a half before breakfast, where they sang the hours. Gianmatteo Giberti sang mass, although there was at least one other priest among the group. During the meal, the company read and discussed St. Bernard. Then Giberti usually read a chapter of Eusebius' De demonstratione evangelica. The group then engaged in discussion for an hour or two. A similar routine occurred in the evening, with vespers and compline, and this time Pole reading from Paul. Whether or not Tremellius was ever with Pole when he was in Verona, this account must give a fair characterisation of what it was like to be part of Pole's household during this period.

Pole's household in Padua included a number of his English friends, such as Thomas Starkey, Richard Morrison, Thomas Goldwell, Henry Cole and George Lily.[84] Pole also began to renew many of his earlier Italian friendships. Mayer notes that Pole's biographers divided his friends into two groups, according to their closeness to the Cardinal.[85] His outer circle included Pietro Bembo, who had been secretary to Leo X, and was one of the leading literary figures of the first half of the sixteenth century, Trifone Gabriele, a teacher at Padua whose works included Annotationi nel Dante,

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81 Mayer - Reginald Pole, p.49
82 Schenk - Reginald Pole, chapter 5 passim
83 Mayer - Reginald Pole, p.69
84 Fenlon - Heresy and Obedience, pp.28-9
85 Mayer - Reginald Pole,p.52

Marcantonio de Genova, a philosopher, and Benedetto Lampridio and Lazzaro Bonamico, both of whom were living in Pole's household in late 1535.[86] However, according to Schenk, Pole, who was moving from purely classical studies to theological matters, had little to say to Bonamico, a professor of rhetoric at the university, and the master and 'quasi-tutor' of Pole's youth.[87]

As for those closer to Pole, Cosmo Gheri and Alvise Priuli were among the most significant. Both feature as interlocutors, with Pole, in a now fragmentary autograph draft of a work subsequently entitled De prudentia et sapientia humana et ea quam per Christum humana generi misericordia dei sit revelata, in which Pole sought to deal with various points raised by Machiavelli.[88] Priuli, in particular, became Pole's life-long friend; during the 1520s, Pole spent much time in Priuli's country house near Treviso.[89] Priuli would later follow Pole to Viterbo, and indeed accompanied him to Trent.[90]

Perhaps even more significant was the rather elusive Marco da Cremona. Dermot Fenlon writes "of all the influences brought to bear upon Pole at this crucial period, none seems to have been of greater single importance than that exercised by a certain Benedictine monk named 'Marco'".[91] He goes on to say that Marco "exerted a tremendous, and probably decisive, influence on Pole". In particular, it seems that this individual introduced Pole to the 'pretiosa Christi dona', of the sort that featured in both Luther and Contarini's meditations.[92] The identity of this monk remains uncertain, but he was probably Mariani or Mario Armellini of Cremona, a monk of Santa Giustina of Padua, and a commentator on the Pauline epistles whose lectures are known to have drawn large audiences.[93]

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86 Ibid., p.52
87 Ibid., p.53; Schenk - Reginald Pole, p.34
88 Mayer - Reginald Pole, p.88
89 Schenk - Reginald Pole, p.46; see also Mayer - Reginald Pole, p.34, which has a photograph of the villa.
90 Mayer - Reginald Pole, chapter 3 passim.
91 Fenlon - Heresy and Obedience, p.31
92 Ibid., p.31; also Caponetto - Protestant Reformation, p.369
93 Fenlon - Heresy and Obedience, p.31; Barry Collett - Italian Benedictine Scholars and the Reformation: The Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua (Oxford, 1985), p.111

In 1535, Pole saw large crowds being drawn out of the city of Padua and down to the monastery of Santa Giustina to hear his 'powerful and eloquent' preaching on the letters of St. Paul. In a letter to Giberti written the following year, Pole explained: "...there is no one to whom I more readily listen when he discourses on divinity, as on no subject does he speak more willingly, so that when I hear his words, and those of his companions, who are imbued with the same spirit, I hear nothing but the praise of God".[94] In a letter of 1537, again to Giberti, Contarini also praised Marco for his success in exciting students in a university generally hostile to theology, but complained of those who accused him of being a Lutheran because of the things he said "de gratia Dei et libero arbitrio".[95] Themes such as the weakness of man, and the saving gift of grace were crucial to Marco's preaching. However, as Collett notes: "Any man who preached eloquently in Padua from St. Paul upon divine grace was bound to be suspected of heresy";[96] nonetheless, as he convincingly argues, Marco's teachings are entirely consistent with the particular school of thought to be found within the Congregation of Santa Giustina (see more fully below).

Pole's relationship with Marco was evidently close. In the summer of 1536, Pole, Marco and Cortese retired from Padua to the surrounding mountains, where they devoted themselves to prayer and spiritual discussion.[97] Later, when Pole was living in Rome, he kept in contact with Marco by letter.[98] It is evident from a letter to Marco of February 1538 that he was regarded as a spiritual father by a number of Pole's closest friends who were now living at Rome, including Priuli, and a certain 'Federicus', who may well have been Federigo Fregoso.[99] Given Tremellius' closeness to Pole at the end of the 1530s, it is not inconceivable that he met Marco through Pole at some point

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[94] Reginald Pole to Gianmatteo Giberti, 10 Aug. 1536, quoted in Collett - Italian Benedictine Scholars, p.111
[95] Gasparo Contarini to Gianmatteo Giberti, 12 June 1537, quoted in Collett - Italian Benedictine Scholars, p.111 and Fenlon - Heresy and Obedience, p.32
[96] Collett - Italian Benedictine Scholars, p.112
[97] Fenlon - Heresy and Obedience, p.33
[98] Ibid., p.34
[99] Ibid., p.34

during that decade; even were that not the case, the fact that he lectured publicly, and drew large audiences, means that there is a good chance he would have heard the monk expound his teachings, especially if Tremellius were himself entering a period of spiritual crisis.

There are two further teachers who had a strong influence on Pole, whom Tremellius would likely also have encountered. The first of these is the Dutch Hebraist, Jan van Kampen. He had been a member of Pole's household,[100] and his work of 1534, a commentary on Romans and Galatians, was one of the principal influences on Pole's De Unitate.[101] Pole and Priuli both studied the Old Testament with van Kampen, Priuli perhaps reading Isaiah, possibly in Hebrew.[102] Even after leaving Pole's household, van Kampen remained close to Pole's circles. He moved to Venice, then to Verona with Giberti and finally to Contarini's household in Rome.[103] Fenlon also suggests that Contarini had van Kampen summoned to Santa Giustina, but Collett, whose monograph details the history of that institution, makes no mention of his presence there.[104]

The second figure was another, more definite, member of the Benedictines of Santa Giustina, Isodoro Chiari.[105] Only Fenlon goes so far as to suggest that Chiari taught Pole in Padua[106]; Collett simply repeats Fenlon's assertion as a possibility.[107] Gleason, in her biography of Contarini, describes Chiari as "a close friend of many leading 'spirituali'", before noting that the Benedictine monk sent a copy of a treatise he had

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100 Mayer - Reginald Pole, p.67

101 Jan van Kampen - Commentariolus... in duas divi Pauli epistolas, sed argumenti eiusdem, alteram ad Romanos, alteram ad Galatas (Cracow, 1534) described in Mayer - Reginald Pole, pp.32-3 & 67

102 Thomas F. Mayer (Ed.) - The Correspondence of Reginald Pole, Volume 1, A Calendar, 1518-1546: Beginnings to Legate of Viterbo (Aldershot, 2002) no.88 referred to in Mayer - Reginald Pole, p.33 n.41. Fenlon - Heresy and Obedience, p.30 suggests that Pole attended lectures on Isaiah given by van Kampen.

103 Mayer - Reginald Pole, pp.67-8. See also Gleason - Gasparo Contarini, p.138, who notes that by the end of 1536 Contarini had "prevailed on... van Kampen to come to Rome and enter his familia as well".

104 Fenlon - Heresy and Obedience, p.30. c.f. Collett - Italian Benedictine Scholars

105 Fenlon - Heresy and Obedience, p.30; Gleason - Gasparo Contarini, pp.264-5. Collett - Italian Benedictine Scholars, especially pp.88-92 & 102-11

106 Fenlon - Heresy and Obedience, p.30 & p.145n.

107 Collett - Italian Benedictine Scholars, p.88

written to Contarini in 1537 for comment.[108] Chiari hoped to use this work, which was published in 1540, to persuade Protestants that unity with Rome was both desirable and theologically possible.[109] Fenlon argues that contact with van Kampen and Chiari brought him into contact "with the new Biblical scholarship, and with a style of exegesis which began profoundly to influence his whole cast of mind.[110]

Furthermore, from Padua, Pole took the opportunity of making frequent visits to nearby towns, and particularly Venice; indeed, in October 1535, Pole moved to Venice where he had a house on the Grand Canal. There he began to associate with members of the Theatine branch of the Oratory of Divine Love which gathered in Venice under the auspices of Contarini.[111] In 1524, two members of the Roman Order, Gaetano da Thiene and Gian Pietro Carafa, along with Bonifacio de' Colli and Paolo Ghislieri developed the idea of establishing a new order of "clerics regular" in imitation of the practice established for the clergy in the diocese of Hippo by St. Augustine in the fifth century.[112] As Hudon remarks, "A life of intense pastoral and charitable work, as well as an equally intense interior spirituality they believed, would help to counteract the intellectual and moral decay common in the contemporary clergy."[113] The order received papal approval from Clement VII in June 1524, but little is known of its activities in Rome before the city was sacked in May 1527; its members escaped at the end of the month, and moved on to Venice.

There the Venetian authorities granted them the use of the church and residence of Santa Nicola da Tolentino. The Theatines formed an Oratory and worked at a hospital for incurables. They promoted eucharistic devotions and were very careful about whom they admitted to the order. Marcantonio Flaminio, for instance, was so impressed by the

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108 Gleason - Gasparo Contarini, p.264
109 Isodoro Chiari - Ad eos qui a communi ecclesiae sententia discesessere, adhortatio ad concordam (Milan, 1540) discussed in Collett - Italian Benedictine Scholars, pp.102-12
110 Fenlon - Heresy and Obedience, p.30
111 Schenk - Reginald Pole, p.29. See on the Oratory of Divine Love, William V. Hudon (Ed. & trans.) - Theatine Spirituality. Selected Writings (New York, 1996)
112 Hudon - Theatine Spirituality, p.22
113 Ibid., p.22

order's devotion and religiosity that he sought admission to the order, but this was denied him.[114] Yet even if Flaminio was not admitted to the Order itself, he was one of the number who met for discussion in the garden of the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore. Also prominent in this group were Gasparo Contarini, Carafa, Gian Matteo Giberti, Gregorio Cortese, the regenerator of the Benedictine Order, Pole, and Priuli. It is quite possible that Tremellius was introduced by Pole to at least some of these figures either in Venice or in Padua; even if there was no direct personal connection, the reforming impulses of the Oratory would still have been conveyed to Tremellius through Pole.

Another Benedictine monastery, that of Santa Giustina in Padua, formed the source of another highly significant reform movement; as we have already seen, the monk known as 'Marco' and Chiari were both from this religious house. As Collett has successfully shown, Cassinese Benedictinism was a further distinct strand in Italian religious history.[115] He writes:

> Long before the Reformation, the monks taught a pattern of salvation of the 'restoration' type expressed in Pauline terms of sin, the Cross, grace and faith, mainly using the exegeses of Augustine and Chrysostom: the kind of restoration they taught was not that of guilty and unjust man restored to a state of justice, but rather that of human nature now broken by mortality and suffering both in body and mind restored to life and health.[116]

With the advent of the Reformation, the monks of Santa Giustina developed and more clearly defined their teachings, especially those elements derived from the Antiochene Fathers. Their studies of the Bible, especially the Pauline epistles, and of the Fathers, especially the Greek Fathers, were maintained and extended during the early years of the Reformation, particularly at the hands of Gregorio Cortese and Denis Faucher.[117]

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114 Ibid., p.25

115 See Collett - Italian Benedictine Scholars, and also his 'The Benedictine Origins of a Mid-Sixteenth Century Heresy' in Journal of Religious History 14 (1986-7), pp.12-25

116 Collett - Italian Benedictine Scholars, p.26

117 Collett - Italian Benedictine Scholars, p.79ff. On Cortese see also Francesco C. Cesareo - Humanism and Catholic Reform. The Life and Work of Gregorio Cortese (1483-1548) (New York, Berne, Frankfurt and Paris, 1990)

The possession of Lutheran books and the discussion of Lutheran doctrine were prohibited by an ordinal of the 1528 chapter-general, but the prohibition of the direct study of Lutheran theology did not prevent the discussion of central Protestant themes, such as the role of free will and the nature of grace and faith, since these were also part of the Congregation's teachings.[118] These similarities, which had initially made the monks quite sympathetic to the ideas of the Reformation, now prompted certain Benedictines, including Isodoro Chiari (see above) and Gregory Bornato, to clarify the order's traditional teachings, and to apply them to the Reformation debates.[119]

Then, in 1538, Don Luciano degli Ottoni produced a work which drew together the Antiochene themes of the Congregation and applied them to the Reformation debate.[120] As this work seems to typify the thought of this movement in the late 1530s, that is, at the time when Tremellius most likely came into contact with members of the Order, it will be considered here in some detail. Collett has shown that in his translation of Chrysostom's commentary on Paul's letter to the Romans, Ottoni put forward, in detailed fashion, a theology that was a synthesis of the doctrine of the reconciliation of man to God through grace and the doctrine of man's restoration to perfection through faith and works. Not only were these themes used by other writers from within the Congregation, but since Ottoni was elected the Congregation's spokesman at the Council of Trent, Collett contends that his teachings represented accepted doctrine within the Congregation. Moreover, Ottoni's sources, entirely biblical and patristic, and especially St. Paul as interpreted by Chrysostom and the Antiochene Fathers, were the same as the other Cassinese writers.

Ottoni's pattern of salvation was that of one who asserted both the Pauline doctrine of man's reconciliation to God by grace alone, and restoration through a way of perfection, vigorously following Paul and Chrysostom as his sole sources. Both the themes and

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118 Collett - Italian Benedictine Scholars, p.87
119 Ibid., p.88 ff. and pp.102-18
120 Ibid., pp.119-37

language of the commentary bore a marked similarity to the those of other Cassinese writings. As Collett argues, this similarity suggests an already established community of doctrine within the Cassinese Congregation now simply being clarified by Ottoni. Collett then dismisses in turn notions that the theology espoused by Ottoni was either 'crypto-Protestant',[121] or Pelagian,[122] although such accusations were made at the time.[123] Moreover, he demonstrates that this was not simply a different form of 'duplex iustitia' espoused by many of the 'spirituali'.[124] This difference Collett attributes to the pre-Augustinian theology of the monks, which was not shared by the 'spirituali'.[125]

The teachings of Ottoni's work were not new to the Congregation: "For a long time, the Benedictines of Santa Giustina had not only concerned themselves with the problems posed by the apparent conflict between the Pauline doctrine of grace and the monastic vocation, but they had also been familiar with the answers to be found in the teachings of the Greek Fathers of Antioch".[126] Ottoni's work, prompted by the religious and political divisions of Europe, appeared as simply the most detailed and the clearest exposition of the teachings of his order. From 1538 on, the Congregation increased its efforts to apply its teachings to contemporary problems, above all applying its Greek patristic theology to the schism of Latin Christendom. After Ottoni's book had clarified Cassinese teachings and clearly tied them to the Fathers of Antioch, the monks wrote a number of works that applied Congregational doctrines to the crisis of the division between Rome and the Reformers.[127]

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121 Despite similar doctrines of grace and faith, there were fundamental disagreements over predestination and free will.
122 Ottoni did not accept the Pelagian view that works possessed forensic validity prior to, and independently of, grace.
123 Collett - Italian Benedictine Scholars, pp.136-7
124 According to 'duplex iustitia', the justice of Christ, imputed to sinners, supplemented human righteousness. For Ottoni, works were only necessary as a constituent of faith and as an instrument of restoration. Human righteousness did not correspond to the inherent justice of theories of double justification. Nor was there anything to correspond to the doctrine of imputed justice.
125 Collett - Italian Benedictine Scholars, p.137
126 Collett - Italian Benedictine Scholars, p.137
127 Ibid., pp.138-56

The most famous work to emerge from the Italian Reformation, the Beneficio di Cristo, of 1543, was in fact a product of very much the same set of circumstances in which Tremellius found himself only a couple of years earlier. An understanding of the place of this text, too, will do much to illuminate the context in which Tremellius came to form his conception of Christianity. Historians have long wondered about the provenance, authorship and spiritual message of this anonymous work.[128] The most convincing explanation put forward so far is that the Beneficio was written by Benedetto Fontanini da Mantova, another Benedictine monk from Santa Giustina, but that it was substantially revised, probably under the influence of Flaminio.[129] While scholars such as Tommaso Bozza, Carlo Ginzburg and Adriano Prosperi have found in the work substantial passages drawn from northern writers including Luther and Calvin, as well as demonstrating the influence of Spanish alumbradism and other intellectual currents of the period, leading some to the conclusion that the Beneficio di Cristo was a Valdesian synthesis, Collett has analysed the text in light of the other Cassinese writings, and has concluded that such a characterisation ought to be revised, "for it is, in the first place, a tract of monastic theology based upon the exegetical methods, the literary style and, above all, the theology of salvation of the Greek Antiochene Fathers, especially Chrysostom".[130]

Regardless of where one chooses to identify the theological emphasis of this work, it highlights several important themes. First, it is clear that this work was a joint effort. In this it immediately reflects the collaborative nature of these Italian circles of reform:

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128 See Tommaso Bozza - Nuovi Studi Sulla Riforma in Italia, vol.1: Il Beneficio di Cristo (Rome, 1976). For an English translation, see Ruth Prelowski's version, most recently reprinted in Gleason - Reform Thought in Sixteenth-Century Italy Also see Carlo Ginzburg and Adriano Prosperi - 'Le due redazioni del «Beneficio di Cristo»' in Eresia e Riforma nell' Italia del Cinquecento: Miscellanea I (Florence and Chicago, 1974), pp.135-204, M. Rosa - 'Il Beneficio di Cristo: Interpretazioni a Confronto' in BHR 40 (1978), pp.609-20 and Valdo Vinay - 'Die Schrift "Il Beneficio di Giesu Christo" und ihre Verbreitung in Europa nach der neueren Forschung' in ARG 58 (1967), pp.29-72, and most recently Collett - Italian Benedictine Scholars, p.163 ff.

129 Ginzburg and Prosperi - 'Le due redazioni' Very recently, however, Mayer - Reginald Pole, p.20 has sought to diminish the contribution of Flaminio, and to play up that of the subject of his biography, Cardinal Pole, principally because of "the large degree of overlap between 'De Unitate' and the 'Beneficio'".

130 Mayer - Reginald Pole, p.183

although they contained several highly able and independent thinkers, discussion between the various members remained of great significance. More importantly, Tremellius had close connections with the main components of the Beneficio. He may not necessarily have known Benedetto da Mantova, but he had undoubtedly encountered the particular brand of Benedictinism associated with the monks of Santa Giustina, through the lectures of the monk Marco, and also through van Kampen and Chiari, both of whom had resided with Pole. Whether Pole, or more likely Flaminio, was responsible for the revisions of the original text, they must give an insight into the nature of the discussions and religious views expressed in Pole's household in the late 1530s and early 1540s. Indeed, the Beneficio, by connection, is also instructive as to the type of spirituality into which Tremellius was introduced at the point of his baptism.

The University of Padua, Pole's household, and the Benedictine monasteries of Santa Giustina in Padua and of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice, formed a close nexus of reform-minded groups in northern Italy. Since the early fifteenth century, the congregation concentrated its efforts of recruitment at the university. During the first ten years of the Congregation of Santa Giustina, which was reformed and reorganised by Ludovico Barbo, the majority of the 200 monks who were professed were drawn from the university; these included many foreign students.[131] Benedetto da Mantova had been at San Maggiore from the time he took his vows in 1519, until at least 1534, serving as deacon, before moving on to Santa Giustina. He must have made his first connections with the Venetian reform group which met while Cortese was abbot at this stage. Pole and Flaminio themselves acted as crucial links between these various groups as well. As a student at Padua University, a member of Pole's household, and consequently a recipient of his patronage, Tremellius can be firmly placed within this web of connections. The close ties between the component parts, and Tremellius' skills as a Hebraist, which presumably helped him into this group in the first place, make it

131 Collett - Italian Benedictine Scholars, p.4

exceedingly likely that he in fact encountered a high proportion of the figures mentioned in these milieux.

Peter Martyr Vermigli and Lucca

Whether it coincided with Pole's move to Viterbo, or occurred in the months shortly after, Tremellius next moved to the monastery of San Frediano, where he obtained his first teaching post. It is highly likely that Pole recommended Tremellius to Peter Martyr Vermigli, the newly-appointed prior. Not only does this give a further indication of how seriously Pole took the role of patron, but it would also again support the contention that Pole was more than sympathetic to the evangelical ideas which were circulating in Italy at this time. In 1537, Peter Martyr had been elected abbot of the rich and influential monastery of San Pietro ad Aram in Naples; during the three years which he spent there, he fell under the influence of Juan de Valdés, an exile from Spain, who had created a circle of religious followers there.

Juan de Valdés' contribution to the intellectual and religious history of sixteenth-century Europe was considerable, yet he remains one of the period's most elusive figures.[132] Born of 'converso' origins in around 1510 in Spain, he enrolled at the humanist university of Alcalá de Henares, in 1527, but was forced to flee both the university, and the country, towards the end of the decade, when the Inquisition initiated proceedings against Juan and his brother Alfonso. The brothers moved to Rome where Valdés obtained a semi-official position as imperial agent, with the title of papal chamberlain, at the Court of Pope Clement VII. Soon after the death of Clement, Juan de Valdés

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132 On Juan de Valdés, see especially Jose C. Nieto - Juan de Valdés and the Origins of the Spanish and Italian Reformation (Geneva, 1970), and his various articles, including 'Was Juan de Valdés an ordained priest?' in BHR 32 (1970), pp.603-6; 'Juan de Valdés on Catechetical Instruction: The Dialogue on Christian Doctrine and the Christian Instruction for Children' in BHR 36 (1974), pp.253-72; and 'Luther's Ghost and Erasmus' Masks in Spain' in BHR 39 (1977), pp.33-49. Also, J. N. Bakhuizen van den Brink - Juan de Valdés reformateur en Espagne et en Italie 1529-41 (Geneva, 1969), Daniel A. Crews - 'Juan de Valdés and the Communero Revolt: An Essay on Spanish Civic Humanism' in SCJ 22 (1991), pp.233-52 and Massimo Firpo - Tra alumbrados e «spirituali»

settled in Naples in 1535, where he established around himself an illustrious group which included among its members a number of aristocratic women, such as Giulia Gonzaga and Vittoria Colonna, and some of the most important figures associated with the Italian reform movement, including both Peter Martyr and Bernardino Ochino.[133] This group dissolved following Valdés' death in August 1541.

The sources for, and the nature of, Valdés' religious thought, have been the subject of much historical debate. With the exception of the Erasmian Diálogo de doctrina cristiana (1529), which appeared anonymously (although there seems even then to have been little doubt about its authorship), Valdés did not publish any of his works during his lifetime. Certainly, various writings circulated in manuscript form, but it was not until after his death that some of his followers had them put into print. In addition to his dialogue of 1529, Valdés is only known to have written one other work, the Diálogo de la lengua (1531), before he settled permanently in Naples.

However, from late 1535, he began to write more prolifically: six major writings survive from the Naples period of his life. Their chronology remains uncertain, but McNair has offered the following sequence as the most probable: the Alfabeto Cristiano (Lent, 1536); a Commentary on the first book of the Psalms (1537); a Commentary on Romans (1538); a Commentary on First Corinthians (1539); his CX Divine Considerations (1540); and his Commentary on St. Matthew (1541).[134] Other minor works are also extant, but it still seems likely that a number of his works have failed to survive. Valdés is said, for example, to have written a commentary on St. John, and on all the Epistles except Hebrews, but no trace has been found of these.[135] Furthermore, when one considers that especially in the later years of his life, religious discussion proved the focus of Valdés' existence, it is possible that his written legacy does not do justice to his intellectual position.

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[133] On Ochino, see Karl Benrath - Bernardino of Ochino: A Contribution Towards the History of the Reformation trans. Helen Zimmern (London, 1876)
[134] McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy, pp.40-1
[135] McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy, p.41

Furthermore, the highly spiritual nature of his writings, and, in particular, his subtle distinction between theology and ecclesiology, heightens the ambiguity and confusion which surround his thought. Valdés adopted and advocated controversial theological ideas, yet retained allegiance to the historic church. He criticised the reformers for breaking the church's unity, but he also exalted the doctrine of justification by faith, and played down, and even condemned the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church. Nonetheless, days before his death in Naples, he stated that he died in the same faith in which he had lived. The ambiguous nature of his religious stance is perhaps best manifested in the divergent paths taken by his disciples. Flaminio was subsequently offered the secretaryship of the Council of Trent;[136] Martyr and Ochino, on the other hand, both apostatised.[137] Valdés remains a thoroughly enigmatic figure, whose nuanced and sometimes seemingly paradoxical intellectual world has troubled his readers down through the ages.

Historians have identified many different strands in Valdés' thought. The Catholic elements in his thought have generally been taken for granted, but their significance has been stressed in one relatively recent work.[138] Other authors have found signs of mystical influences in Valdés' thought;[139] equally, affinities have been identified with innately Spanish trends including that of alumbradism.[140] The impact of humanism, and especially of Erasmus, both directly and indirectly, has regularly been stated.[141]

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136 Maddison - Marcantonio Flaminio, p.159

137 McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy, p.269ff.; Benrath - Bernardino Ochino of Siena, p.92ff.

138 Fr. Domingo de Sta. Theresa - Juan de Valdés, 1498(?)-1541: Su pensamiento religioso y las corrientes espirituales de su tiempo (Rome, 1957)

139 This may be traced back to Llorente's Histoire critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne of 1817. In his account of the trial of Fra. Bartolome de Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo, Llorente included a letter written by Valdés to Carranza, in which certain non-Catholic propositions were set forth. One witness, Fra. Luis de la Cruz, claimed that these ideas were derived from Tauler's Christian Institutions. As Nieto - Juan de Valdés p.21 remarks, "Historians, critics and Valdesian scholars in general took the Inquisition record uncritically, and concluded that Valdés imbibed his spirituality from Tauler's work".

140 Nieto - Juan de Valdés, passim, but especially p.333. For a broader consideration of 'alumbradism', see Alastair Hamilton - Heresy and Mysticism in Sixteenth-Century Spain. The Alumbrados (Cambridge, 1992)

141 Especially Marcel Bataillon - Erasmus et l'Espagne: Recherches sur l'histoire spirituelle du XVIe siècle (Geneva, 1937, 1991). Also John E. Longhurst - Erasmus and the Spanish Inquisition: The Case of Juan de Valdés (Ann Arbor, Michigan and London, 1980 reprint)

Similarities with various other northern intellectual currents, most notably the thought of the Protestant reformers, and especially Luther, have also been adduced.[142] In one of his most recent works, Massimo Firpo has written that the real significance and originality of Valdés' Diálogo of 1529, and of his writings in Italian exile was his "creative synthesis of Erasmianism, alumbradismo, and Lutheranism".[143] The spiritual, and even mystical nature of his writings make it easier to assume that Valdés came to develop his theological position with a minimum of external influences. However, it should be evident that the relative absence of dogmatism does not preclude the fact that Valdés was aware of many of the most significant theological trends of his time. Rather, he incorporated elements from a wide variety of sources in the creation of a new, and highly influential, spirituality.

The intellectual developments which may have taken place in the encounter between Valdés and his circle in Naples have also come in for scrutiny. Benrath, in his biography of Bernardino Ochino, for example, alludes to Valdés' impact upon his subject: "The influence Valdez [sic] personally exercised upon Ochino's opinions was chiefly confined to the general impulse communicated by him. Yet in Ochino's writings we meet with thoughts and combinations, whose origin can only be traced to Valdez".[144] He goes on to say that Ochino acted as Valdés' mouthpiece, spreading from the pulpit ideas which Valdés had expressed to him the day before in writing. Benrath does suggest that Ochino underwent a change in opinions in Naples, adopting in particular the "essentially Protestant... idea... the doctrine of justification by the grace

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142 McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy, p.47 writes that "the deepest and most powerful influence [on Valdés' later years] would be found to have been the writings of Calvin". Moreover, he suggests that in about the beginning of 1536, Valdés began seriously to study the works of Calvin, Bucer, Luther and Zwingli, and that their formulation of the doctrine of justification by faith contributed greatly to what amounted to a spiritual change at this point. More recently, Carlos Gilly - 'Juan de Valdés: Ubersetzer und Bearbeiter von Luthers Schriften in seinem 'Diálogo de doctrina'' in ARG 74 (1983), pp.257-305 has argued convincingly that the influence of Luther in fact pre-dated Valdés' move to Italy. In his work on Valdés' Commentary on St. Matthew, Carlo Ossola has confirmed Luther's influence on the Spaniard. As Gleason remarks in her review of Ossola's critical edition of this work: "Ossola's major contribution is to have demonstrated convincingly that any interpretation of Valdés outside the sphere of Protestant theological concepts and language simply will no longer be possible" Review in SCJ 19 (1988), p.516

143 Massimo Firpo - 'The Italian Reformation and Juan de Valdés' in SCJ 27 (1996), p.358

144 Benrath - Bernardino Ochino, p.68

of God alone, taught in Valdez' circle".[145] He does not give any indication, however, that there was a reciprocal change as a result of their association; Benrath's interest does not extend to Valdés' intellectual developments.

McNair, on the other hand, makes the bold assertion that "Evangelism was born of the impact of Ochino on Valdés and Valdés on Ochino in Naples during Lent of 1536". He goes on: "To say, as has traditionally been said, that Valdés converted Ochino is only half the truth: it is equally true that Ochino converted Valdés".[146] This is a difficult argument to construct: with the exception of Valdés' Diálogo of 1529, we have no writings from either man on religious matters from the period before 1536. Instead, McNair refers to the testimony of Carnesecchi and Curione that Valdés suffered some experience akin to a religious conversion between 1534 and 1540. On the strength of unspecified "circumstantial evidence", McNair dates this experience to early 1536, and says that it was "the conversion of an Erasmian to Evangelism".[147]

McNair suggests that Ochino and Valdés both learned from each other. Valdés undermined Ochino's regard for monasticism and external religion, and also provided a more positive contribution in the doctrine of justification by faith; Ochino, meanwhile, provided Valdés with "the inspiration of a dedicated purpose and the practice of the Gospels".[148] Ochino's Lenten Sermons of 1536 seem to mark a crucial phase. Unfortunately, these sermons have not survived, and we have no direct testimony about their subject matter. Nonetheless, McNair argues that the only way that one can explain the disturbing force of Ochino's sermons, which affected friend and enemy alike, was the fact that his words were not only eloquent, but also effective. Therefore, he concludes, "one must suppose that Ochino learned the doctrine [of justification by faith] from Valdés in Naples in 1536, embraced it and preached it from the pulpit".[149]

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145 Ibid., p.84
146 McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy, p.35
147 Ibid., p.36
148 Ibid., p.36
149 Ibid., p.39

McNair then goes on to claim that "the immediate fruit of Ochino's preaching was the composition of the Alfabeto Christiano, which might be described as the first manifesto of Evangelism in Italy".[150]

Ironically, however, McNair sees the actual subject of his biography, Peter Martyr, as being nothing more than the passive recipient of Valdesian influences. It was not until James' recent article that it was suggested that Martyr, too, may have had some impact on the Spaniard's thought.[151] In particular, James has suggested that, at some point in 1538, Valdés underwent a theological transformation in which he adopted an unusually strict doctrine of double predestination, which first found expression in his commentary on Romans. James argues that "no one was better placed than Peter Martyr Vermigli" to exercise a formative theological influence on Valdés, and to help him to an understanding of this potentially dangerous doctrine.[152]

Even if Tremellius had encountered Flaminio at Viterbo, it is unlikely that they spent enough time in each other's company for Tremellius fully to appreciate the theology he had adopted in the company of Valdés. Instead, it is more likely that he got this through the filter of Peter Martyr. As we saw in the previous chapter, Martyr's preaching on the Epistles of St. Paul and on the Psalms prompted 18 of the fellows of San Frediano, including Tremellius, to convert to Protestantism. This does not necessarily mean that Martyr was expounding views which were any more Protestant than had Valdés, however. Rather, the circumstances had significantly changed, in the few intervening years: the revival of the Roman Inquisition immediately polarised the situation, and the middle ground which many of these thinkers had occupied was no longer tenable.

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150 McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy, pp.39-40. See Massimo Firpo (Ed.) - Juan de Valdés - Alfabeto Cristiano (Turin, 1994)
151 Frank A. James - 'Juan de Valdés before and after Peter Martyr Vermigli: The Reception of 'Gemina Praedestinatio' in Valdés' Later Thought' in ARG 83 (1992), pp.180-208
152 James - 'Juan de Valdés and Peter Martyr', p.188

Conclusion

When Tremellius left Italy at the end of 1542, he was already more than thirty years old. Although we lack the level of documentation for the Italian period of his life that we have for Tremellius' exilic career, enough material survives to allow us to establish at least a basic outline of his activities. Even if gaps do remain, as good an understanding as is possible of these years is of great value. After all, not only did Tremellius receive all his education during this period, but it was also in this environment that he was drawn away from Judaism, and that he came to his particular understanding of Christianity. The material which has been presented in this chapter, more importantly, does much to shed light on Tremellius' intellectual state at the point when he fled Italy, to embark upon his professional career. Of course, it would be wrong to imagine that his intellectual development ceased at this point, but equally the events of these formative years would have done more to shape his outlook than anything which occurred subsequently.

In this chapter, we have identified several features which would have helped to shape Tremellius' religious outlook. His personal background, in itself, would seem to have inclined him towards an open and non-confrontational attitude. Having experienced both Judaism and Catholicism before he finally came to embrace Protestantism, his horizons were undoubtedly broad. Moreover, this breadth of experience had a positive effect. Other converts in this period often ended up expressing vitriolic opinions against their former brethren in an attempt to demonstrate their conviction in their assumed faith; this was not Tremellius' practice, however. As we will see in later chapters, even in places where one might have expected to find it in his published writings, he held back from attacking either Jews or Catholics, even though this would have helped him counter the occasional challenges to his orthodoxy as a Protestant. While this may in part have been simply a reflection of his personal character, the experiences of his early life must also have played an important role. Such an approach would also have been encouraged by the various figures who did most to shape his early years.

During the 1520s, the most important influence upon Tremellius was undoubtedly Farissol, the principal teacher of the Jewish community of Ferrara. As we have seen, not only was this man a highly skilled Hebraist, but, especially for a Jew, he had both a good knowledge of Christianity, and also a strong appreciation of the Christian Bible, at least in educational terms, even if he remained highly critical of much of it. Through the 1530s, and perhaps building on an initial interest in such matters sparked by Farissol, Tremellius was gradually drawn towards Reformed Christianity. Farnese, Pole and Martyr are the three figures with whom Tremellius is most clearly associated in the extant primary sources. In many ways, these figures reflect well the different trends with which Tremellius would have come into contact: Farnese represents orthodox Catholicism, while Pole and Martyr reflect different aspects of the spectrum of Italian evangelism. As confessional lines began to emerge in the 1540s, Pole's obedience to the Catholic church took precedence in determining his actions, while Martyr chose to pursue his theological ideas to their logical conclusion: he found himself unable to remain within the established church. Yet, until this point, and as members of the group of so-called 'spirituali', the pair had much in common.

Not only was it in this context that Tremellius was first introduced to many works of Protestant theology, but it was this environment which directed the manner in which he read them. In this regard, I would contend, he was very much a product of an identifiably Italian heritage, which was culturally distinct from the rest of Europe. Of course, the ideas of the Renaissance, originally an Italian phenomenon in itself, were crucial. The ethos of Renaissance humanism encouraged openness, eclecticism and individualism. When figures within this environment came to express their views on religious, moral and philosophical matters, these values did much to shape what they had to say. In particular, it made it acceptable for them to extract ideas from works and authors which might generally have been regarded as contradictory or unacceptable. As we will see in later chapters, even when he was working on Christian texts within a

Christian context, Tremellius drew on both his Jewish and classical learning. Wisdom, he clearly believed, was not the preserve of just one tradition.

Such views, moreover, had a particular resonance when it came to spiritual matters. Italian writers and thinkers tended to approach religion in the same way. Two further factors facilitated such an attitude. First, as we have just noted, confessional boundaries had not yet been established, which meant that a certain ambiguity existed on many doctrinal issues; this religious freedom was regularly exploited by the Italian intellectuals of this period. In addition, Italy was some distance away from the Protestant churches of northern Europe, which made it possible to pick and choose ideas and concepts from the different Protestant confessions, and indeed to combine these with Catholic doctrines. The composite nature of Italian theological writings is perhaps best exemplified by the Beneficio di Cristo, but the approach used in that text was a common one. Not least because this remained a potentially dangerous way of proceeding, and also another feature of this environment, was the tendency to emphasise inner piety at the expense of external devotions; closely associated with this was the practice of Nicodemism, whereby one concealed one's true faith, simply as a means of existing in adverse political or religious circumstances. Many Italians, such as Pole, would simply accommodate themselves to what was expected by others, regardless of their inner beliefs. Finally, the 'spirituali' showed themselves far more inclined to approach theology on irenic rather than polemic terms.

In each of these respects, Tremellius showed himself to be a product of this environment. He chose to avoid explicit statements of his belief, preferring to keep his faith largely a private matter. Even his adoption of Calvinism needs to be treated with some care. Again as a product of this Italian environment, it is likely that Calvinism was simply the confession which most closely approximated to his personal belief system. He would have appreciated that existence outside of the established confessions would have been virtually impossible; yet through an intellectual approach to religious matters, and a readiness to dissimulate, he was able to pre-empt most challenges to his

orthodoxy. By avoiding attacking others on religious grounds, he managed to divert attention from such matters in relation to himself too. It would be wrong to suggest that Tremellius' conversion to Christianity was simply career-motivated, but that does not mean that he was unaware of the reality of the situation in which he found himself. His personal faith remains elusive to historians, as it must have done to his contemporaries. In many ways, moreover, Tremellius challenges our preconceptions in this area. He does not fit easily into the established categories for thinking about religion in the sixteenth century; much of the reason for this lies in the various elements we have identified here of the Italian background from which he emerged.

Chapter Three: Friends and Contacts

It is the intention of this chapter to examine more thoroughly the various relationships which Tremellius formed during the course of his career. Such an analysis will deepen our understanding of him and his place in the sixteenth century in various ways. Since Tremellius was a figure who said very little about himself, as we have already seen, it makes a lot of sense to use the evidence provided by his friends and colleagues. A sizeable quantity of biographical information can in fact be gleaned from their sources, as we saw especially in Chapter one. In addition, it will be possible to build up a picture of the manner in which Tremellius was viewed by his contemporaries. In so doing, this will provide further evidence for my underlying contention that Tremellius' modern reputation requires revision. Furthermore, by looking at a number of his closest contacts, it will be possible to gauge the kinds of circles in which he most comfortably moved, the likely influences upon him in his post-exilic career, and indeed some of the potential influence that he may himself have had on others.[1]

Moreover, while an investigation of a number of Tremellius' most significant relationships is valuable in these different respects as regards the details of his particular experience, it will also help to elucidate a range of broader themes relating to the culture and climate of sixteenth-century Europe. After all, Tremellius embarked on his professional career as an Italian and as a converted Jew, at a time when both of these were characteristics likely to arouse suspicion in others. The reality of these prejudices is made quite clear in a letter written by Pierre Viret in November 1547. Calvin, and

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[1] This theme will be developed further in Chapter four which deals with Tremellius' activities as a teacher.

possibly others, had recently written to him asking him to try to find a job for Tremellius, either in Berne, or more likely at the University of Lausanne. Viret explained the situation to Guillaume Farel in Geneva.

> As for Tremellius, I do not really know what I can reply to you. There is no post for him here, and if there were, there are many good and learned men who would not be neglected. At the moment, moreover, the Jews and Italians are badly spoken of in Berne. Often already the same thing that Emanuel seeks from you, he sought from me by letters and through others, especially Calvin: but I was not able to reply other than how things stand.[2]

On top of this, and not least because he moved so widely in the course of his life, Tremellius did not have the luxury of a patron who would look after his interests throughout his life. Yet despite these various disadvantages, Tremellius enjoyed a highly successful and prestigious career.

The manner in which he was able to overcome such obstacles, therefore, has much to tell us about the practices of patronage, and the various dimensions of the notion of friendship in the sixteenth century which often underlay it. Occasionally Tremellius benefited from the generosity of an impartial and largely disinterested patron, but, much more commonly, there was a personal element involved. Friendship was of course an important humanist concept. In individual locations, sodalities of scholars would meet to discuss classical and Christian ideas.[3] Beyond this, these was a network of communities which transcended national boundaries, and which were maintained by both personal contact and letters. The letter, indeed, was itself a significant humanist genre. The extant correspondence of Erasmus includes more than 3,000 letters, that of Justus Lipsius includes over 4,300 letters exchanged with about 700 different correspondents, while Hugo Grotius sent or received about 7,600 letters.[4]

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[2] Pierre Viret to Guillaume Farel, 24 November 1547, C.O. 969

[3] See for instance Phillip N. Bebb - 'Humanism and Reformation: The Nürnberg 'Sodalitas' Revisited' in Phillip N. Bebb and Sherrin Marshall (Eds.) - The Process of Change in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honour of Miriam Usher Chrisman (Athens, Ohio, 1988), pp.59-79, which investigates the extent to which this particular 'sodalitas' was receptive to Reformation ideas.

[4] Figures from John Hale - The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance (London, 1993), p.290

A further indication of the growth in importance of the notion of friendship in humanist circles was the emergence of a second popular literary genre, the so-called Album Amicorum.[5] This type of writing emerged in Germany in about the middle of the sixteenth century, where they were known as Stammbücher.[6] It became increasingly common for students, who would often visit several different universities in the course of their education, to keep a record of the professors and eminent academics they had met, and the friendships they had formed, in small books in which signatures and occasionally short messages could be entered. By the seventeenth century, the practice had become widespread indeed, and arguably more a testimony to an international notion of the academic community, than necessarily an indication of personal closeness between owner and signatories.[7] If ever Tremellius owned such a volume, it has not survived, but given that his education was complete by the time he left Italy, that eventuality is rather unlikely. On the other hand, however, he was operating in a Europe in which the notion of friendship, suggested by this genre, was growing in prevalence.

With Latin as a common language, and scholarship restricted to quite a small body of people, many of whom worked in relative isolation, the republic of letters was an important feature of Renaissance culture. The advent of the Reformation, moreover, superimposed a further, religious, dimension on this set-up. Increasingly, groups in different locations were united by their adherence to a particular Christian faith: the interconnections between state and church became increasingly apparent in the process often called 'confessionalisation'.[8] One of the repercussions of this was that the different communities across Europe which shared the same confession came to identify with each other. Calvinism, in particular, developed something of an international

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[5] On this subject see for instance M.A.E. Nickson - Early Autograph Albums in the British Museum (London, 1970)

[6] The earliest known example of this kind of work dates from 1542, and was kept by Nicolaus Reinhold, a student at the University of Wittenberg.

[7] See both the comments to this effect in Alastair Hamilton - William Bedwell The Arabist 1563-1632 (Leiden, 1985), p.42 ff., and also Bedwell's own Album amicorum, which Hamilton includes as Appendix III, pp.121-3.

[8] See, for example, Wolfgang Reinhard - 'Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State. A Reassessment' in CHR 75 (1989), pp.383-404, especially p.397 ff.

character.[9] Tremellius was himself in contact with a number of Calvinists during the course of his career: above all, they appreciated the value which he could bring to their faith, and sought to find him employment for their mutual benefit.

Of course, separating these elements can at times be a little artificial, since the various sets of friends and connections overlapped with each other. Moreover, a significant proportion of the academic members of these groups were less enthusiastic about enforcing the divisions which confessionalisation brought with it: a number rose above such distinctions and sought to re-emphasise the more humanistic values of the republic of letters. Nonetheless, in utilising this approach, this chapter will draw out a number of the most prominent dimensions of this crucial feature of sixteenth-century society. In particular, this chapter will investigate Tremellius' personal, professional, political, intellectual, and confessional friendships.

It is, of course, often difficult for the historian to get to the heart of personal relationships. Individuals have little need to exchange letters with those with whom they are in regular, if not daily, contact. In the case of Tremellius, the problem is certainly not helped by the fact that his extant correspondence is quite slight.[10] It is clear to me that this collection is far from complete, however: of those letters which form his correspondence, about 75% were written by Tremellius himself.[11] Given that Tremellius was not a prolific letter writer, a fact which might have skewed the figures somewhat, it seems reasonable to imagine that the numbers of those sent and received would have been about equal. The degree of imbalance would thus suggest that letters of which Tremellius was the recipient have not always been recorded.[12] There are also

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[9] On this concept see for instance the collections of essays Menna Prestwich (Ed.) - International Calvinism, 1541-1715 (Oxford, 1986) and W. Fred Graham (Ed.) - Later Calvinism: International Perspectives (Kirksville, Missouri, 1994). Also see Robert M. Kingdon - 'International Calvinism' in Thomas A. Brady Jr., Heiko A. Oberman and James D. Tracy (Eds.) - Handbook of European History, 1400-1600, Vol. 2 (Leiden, 1995), pp.229-48

[10] See Appendix 2 for Tremellius' Correspondence

[11] Tremellius is the author of 21 of the 28 letters which I have located.

[12] See for instance Paul Oskar Kristeller - Iter Italicum. A Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and Other Libraries (Leiden, New York and Cologne, 1997), where generally only the names of the senders of letters are mentioned.

references in certain letters to others letters sent or received, of which there is now no trace. The indications are that we are dealing with a far from complete source base. Nonetheless, much may be drawn from those letters which have survived, and it is also possible to supplement the information they contain from other sources, most notably the dedications of his works and the correspondence between other figures in which Tremellius is mentioned.[13]

Colleagues and Acquaintances

During the course of his career, Tremellius encountered a wide array of individuals who attained significance in their own right in the sixteenth century. The fact that his career was both long and itinerant certainly contributed to this. As we saw in the first chapter, Tremellius came into contact with different sets of prominent academics and reformers in Padua, Lucca, Strasbourg, Lambeth, Cambridge and Heidelberg. The Academies of Hornbach and Sedan, which were both newly-founded institutions when he taught there, might not yet have attracted quite the same calibre and number of staff as some of the more prestigious universities at which he taught, but he would still have made further contacts. Moreover, especially on the various occasions when he was moving between employments, Tremellius visited several other cities, including Metz, Lausanne, Berne, and quite possibly Geneva. Indeed, Tremellius can be at least tentatively connected with a vast array of significant figures from locations through much of northern Europe, and who attained prominence at different times through the second half of the sixteenth century.

It is also evident that Tremellius' reputation extended beyond those people whom he met. He is mentioned in numerous letters to individuals who either had not actually met him or whose reaction is unknown. Possibly the best example of this phenomenon is

[13] See Appendix 3 which contains a catalogue of the letters in which Tremellius is mentioned.

Heinrich Bullinger (1504-75).[14] Bullinger, who had replaced Ulrich Zwingli as head of the Church of Zurich, following the latter's death in 1531, was a prolific preacher, author and letter writer: his extant correspondence contains more than 12,000 letters.[15] Yet while he received ten letters in which Tremellius is mentioned, from five different correspondents, covering the period 1548 to 1571, no corresponding letter from his pen survives.[16] As the centre of a wide-reaching correspondence network, it is hardly surprising that he should have been kept informed of Tremellius' activities. Whether or not the two actually met is unknown,[17] but it is unfortunate that Bullinger's opinions are lost to us. He was a leading figure in the Swiss Reformation, whose attitude, at least, had much in common with that of Tremellius.[18]

News relating to Tremellius appears frequently in the correspondence of others. It is clear from such examples that his renown extended beyond his different working environments, and that his presence was in itself considered newsworthy. The increasing frequency of such references through the course of his life, moreover, undoubtedly reflects the growth in his international stature. One of the most interesting pieces of evidence we have relating to Tremellius comes in a letter written by the Spanish diplomat Guzman de Silva to his king, Philip II. His report, written from London on 27 March 1568, is the only objective ambassadorial reference to Tremellius that I have found; apart from its Catholic orientation, it is a largely impartial account. Guzman seems neither to know Tremellius particularly well, nor to be trying to advance his career prospects. In his letter to Philip II, having discussed various other unrelated matters, he concludes with a brief description of Tremellius:

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[14] On Bullinger, see J. Wayne Baker - Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenant: The Other Reformed Tradition (Athens, Ohio, 1980) and Pamela Biel - Doorkeepers at the House of Righteousness: Heinrich Bullinger and the Zurich Clergy, 1535-1575 (Berne, 1991)

[15] See Ulrich Gäbler et al. (Eds.) - Heinrich Bullinger Briefwechsel (Zurich, 1973-). I am grateful to Rainer Henrich who has discussed with me the full dimensions that the completed project will reach.

[16] Oswald Myconius, Thomas Erastus (5), Peter Dathenus, Michael Hortinus and Johannes Haller (2), all mentioned Tremellius in their letters to Bullinger. See Appendix 3.

[17] As we saw in Chapter one, it is possible that Tremellius visited Zürich when travelling from Italy to Strasbourg.

[18] Other figures who received letters in which Tremellius is mentioned, but whose reactions or opinions are otherwise known, include Guillaume Farel, Lord John Grey, Monsieur de Clervant, Francis Boisnormand, Bishop Sandys and Thomas van Til.

> A certain Emmanuel Tremelius [sic] has been here lately on behalf of the count Palatine. He is a heretic who was formerly in one of the universities here called Oxford, and in the pay of the Queen. He is the son of a Jew of Mantua. It is said he comes for the purpose of arranging a league with this Queen, and will go on to Scotland to discuss a similar matter with the Regent and his government, taking letters from the folks here.[19]

As we saw in an earlier chapter, there are a number of basic errors here: Tremellius had taught at Cambridge, and he was from Ferrara rather than Mantua. From this, it is evident that Guzman did not know all that much about him. Nonetheless, it is still interesting to note that Tremellius merited inclusion in an ambassadorial dispatch. Furthermore, it also shows that his reputation extended as far as Spain, one of the few countries which Tremellius had not visited.

As one would expect, and as we will see later in this chapter, Tremellius' close friends were full of praise for him. However, it is also apparent that a high proportion of those figures who only encountered him briefly were similarly impressed by what they saw. A few examples should be enough to illustrate this point. For instance, we have the opinions of one of the sons of the prestigious French humanist, Guillaume Budé. In a letter written from Geneva in August 1547, John Calvin related to his close associate Pierre Viret how this unnamed Budé had "strongly encouraged me to exert myself to bring Emmanuel [Tremellius] here, if it could be accomplished on any ground".[20] In the event, it was not possible, but the recommendation is still instructive: especially if it were Louis Budé, a Hebraist himself, and a collaborator with Calvin on a translation of the Psalms, who was responsible for such praise, it is evident that even at this early stage in his career, people were appreciating his abilities and scholarship for what they were worth.[21]

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19 Guzman de Silva to the King [Philip II], 27 March 1568, CSP - Spanish, vol.2 , pp.16-17
20 John Calvin to Pierre Viret, 29 August 1547, C.O. 941
21 On Louis Budé, see Rodolphe Peter - 'Calvin and Louis Budé's Translation of the Psalms' in G. E. Duffield (Ed.) - John Calvin (London, 1966), pp.190-209

In a letter written from Cambridge in January 1572, Rudolph Zwingli, the grandson of Bullinger, who had recently moved there from Zurich, expressed his gratitude to Bishop Sandys for various kindnesses that the latter has shown him. In particular, Sandys had arranged for Zwingli to gain a place at Cambridge University, and to be admitted to St. John's College. Zwingli also praises his comfortable rooms and excellent tutor, before going on to remark:

> And I rejoice, not so much on my account, as for the sake of my studies, that I have the means and opportunity afforded me of hearing that most famous and learned man, master Anthony Chevalier,[22] to whom our Germany can scarce produce an equal in the knowledge of Hebrew, or one who can bear a comparison with him, except Immanuel Tremellius, whom I heard lecturing most ably at Heidelberg in the Palatinate, and from whose lectures, I think, I derived no small advantage.[23]

While the praise of Chevalier, and all things related to Cambridge may, at least in part, be attributed to the purpose of the letter, which is to thank Sandys for his patronage, and to ask that it may be continued (although Zwingli was in fact to die in June of the same year), the reference to Tremellius comes outwith that context, and may be regarded as a rather more impartial observation. Zwingli's knowledge of German academic institutions may not have been especially wide, but his suggestion that Tremellius was the most able teacher of Hebrew in Germany is certainly a strong endorsement indeed.

Jacobus Falesius, in a letter written from Basle to Paul Fagius in December 1547, also refers to Tremellius in favourable terms. Falesius and Valerand Poullain had evidently fallen out with each other; Fagius had then sought to effect a reconciliation, but Falesius proved reluctant. Although he remains vague over the nature of the dispute, and the reasons on which he bases his standpoint, he remarks that he is close to death, and that they will soon come before the judgement of God. He then goes on to comment that "I have, however, declared my reasoning concerning the conciliation to D. Emanuel [i.e.

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[22] Bishop Sandys had, with Matthew Parker, recommended Chevallier to be Hebrew professor of Cambridge - c.f. John Strype - Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion and other various other occurrences in the Church of England (4 vols., Oxford, 1824), Vol.1. part ii. p.552 for their letter of recommendation.

[23] Rudolf Zwingli to Bishop Sandys, January 26, 1572: Zurich Letters, No. 76; StAZ EII 359, 3093b

Tremellius], which I judge to be fair and just".[24] He then concedes that if the church sees matters otherwise, he will submit his own private judgement to the public and pious judgement of the congregation. Here it is interesting to note that Falesius turned to Tremellius for support in this matter. Presumably he felt not only that he would get a sympathetic response from him, but also that Tremellius' endorsement of his case might be enough to persuade Fagius on this matter.

Finally, we have the opinions of Wolfgang Musculus (1497-1563).[25] Having served as a pastor in Augsburg between 1531 and 1548, Musculus came to Berne where he replaced Simon Sulzer as professor of theology. He held this position from 1549 until his death in 1563. The arrival of Tremellius in June 1554 prompted him to write to Calvin:

> S. Reddidit tuas Immanuel Tremellius Calvine in Domino carissime. Ex animo condoleo ecclesiae anglicane quod tam piis ac doctis viris privata est, quorum opera et utiliter et honeste uti poterat. Interea Immanueli ac reliquis qui evaserunt Athaliae [i.e. Mary][26] impiissimae manus congratulor admodus. Misereum quidem est tam insignes viros exsilii fluctibus iactari.[27]

While this may largely be read as a pious statement in favour of the Reformed faith, and against Catholicism, the precedence given to Tremellius, amongst "tam piis ac doctis viris," is striking. Of course, Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius had died while in England, but Tremellius was by no means the only figure to return to the continent at this point. Musculus had presumably not previously met Tremellius, although he may well have received a commendation of the Hebraist from Calvin.[28] Personal acquaintance can only have strengthened him in his respect for Tremellius.

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[24] Falesius to Paul Fagius, 8 December 1547, C.O. 974 "Rationem autem conciliationis declaravi D. Emanueli, quam ego arbitror iustam et aequam esse."

[25] On Musculus see Craig S. Farmer - The Gospel of John in the Sixteenth Century. The Johannine Exegesis of Wolfgang Musculus (New York and Oxford, 1997)

[26] Athalia was the impious widow of Jehoram, a worshipper of Baal, and the Queen of Judah. See 2 Kings 11, and 2 Chronicles 22-23.

[27] Wolfgang Musculus to John Calvin, 13 June 1554, C.O. 1968

[28] This is Baum's assertion in a note on this letter in C.O. 1968

Budé, Zwingli, Falesius and Musculus did not have particularly close relationships with Tremellius. Indeed, with the exception of Zwingli, who heard him lecture over a slightly longer period, they only met him very briefly, if at all. Nonetheless, they all appear to have held him in high esteem. Their assessments were based on several different qualities: Budé and Zwingli had a high regard for his abilities as a teacher of Hebrew, while for Falesius, it was his integrity as an individual that was of greatest relevance. Musculus may simply have valued him because Calvin had spoken in his favour. Regardless of their reasons, it is quite manifest that Tremellius was generally well-regarded by these figures; moreover, their views seem largely to have been typical of the reaction of Tremellius' contemporaries to him. This impression is only intensified when one moves on to consider a number of his closer relationships.

Personal Friendships

A number of Tremellius' friendships are best considered as informal or even intimate in nature. By this it is meant that the friendship itself appears to be the defining characteristic in the relationship, rather than any other external factor. Of course, in all but the most formal relationships which lasted any significant length of time, a degree of familiarity was inevitable, but that was more often than not the product of other considerations. Two of the clearest examples of this kind of relationship date from the Italian phase of Tremellius' career, namely those with Cardinal Reginald Pole and with Peter Martyr Vermigli.

As these have already been considered in some detail in Chapter two, only the most salient features need be drawn out here. The closeness of the relationship with Pole is especially suggested by the fact that it was he who was responsible for the younger man's baptism as a Christian.[29] Moreover, it was Pole who seems first to have

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[29] On Pole, see Thomas F. Mayer - Reginald Pole, Prince and Prophet (Cambridge, 2000), Dermot Fenlon - Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy: Cardinal Pole and the Counter-Reformation (London,

appreciated how useful Tremellius' expertise in the Semitic languages could be. He undoubtedly realised this in relation to his own biblical studies, but must also have thought about the wider potential. It is for this reason that my contention that Tremellius was introduced into the Cardinal's circle of friends in Padua and Venice is entirely reasonable.[30]

So too is the suggestion that Pole was responsible for Tremellius' appointment to the teaching staff of the monastery of San Frediano in Lucca. Following the deaths of Juan de Valdés and Gasparo Contarini, Pole was one of the principal members of the 'spirituali' still active in Italy, and the centre of his own community. Moreover, especially as a Cardinal, Pole was at least theoretically in a position to distribute patronage. By arranging for Tremellius' appointment at Lucca, Pole was able to do a favour for Peter Martyr, who was possibly already a friend of his, to ensure the good tuition in Hebrew of the monks of San Frediano, thereby assisting the Church as a whole, and to assist his protégé, Tremellius, in embarking upon his scholarly career. This sort of arrangement, moreover, would be consistent with what Mayer has recently suggested about Pole's patronage.[31] Because of his general lack of funds, Mayer argues, Pole's patronage was conducted more in ideological than material terms.[32] In Tremellius' case, Pole was able to make the best of fortuitous circumstances. There were these various benefits, for which Pole could claim responsibility, but he did not end up out of pocket.

Peter Martyr's friendship with Tremellius was quite similar to that of Pole.[33] In the beginning, the relationship was a formal one, with Martyr as Tremellius' employer, but

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1972) and Wilhelm Schenk - Reginald Pole, Cardinal of England (London, New York and Toronto, 1950)

30 See Chapter two.

31 Thomas F. Mayer - 'When Maecenas was Broke: Cardinal Pole's "Spiritual" Patronage' in SCJ 27 (1996), pp.419-35

32 Mayer - 'When Maecenas was Broke', p.423 ff.

33 On Vermigli, see Philip J. McNair - Peter Martyr in Italy: An Anatomy of Apostasy (Oxford, 1967), Marvin W. Anderson - Peter Martyr, A Reformer in Exile (1542-1562). A Chronology of Biblical Writings in England and Europe (Nieuwkoop, 1975) and Joseph C. McLelland (Ed.) - Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform (Ontario, Canada, 1980)

their relationship swiftly became more intimate. Not only was the community of San Frediano relatively small, and the teaching staff few in number, but as we saw in the first chapter, there are good grounds for believing that Tremellius helped Martyr with the more advanced points of Hebrew grammar and language. Martyr, meanwhile, was responsible for Tremellius' second conversion. Again, one must assume that this was a product of a close relationship between the two; it could only have become stronger through their shared religious experience, particularly in the adverse circumstances which were developing around them. Martyr, as the man with the greater reputation and position must have felt responsibility for his convert. Consequently, it is hardly surprising that Tremellius should have followed Martyr to Strasbourg; presumably it was on the latter's recommendation, moreover, that Tremellius found employment at the Academy there, alongside Martyr.

Clearly there are several parallels between these two relationships from Tremellius' early career. Tremellius was an emerging scholar whose skills as a Hebraist were valued by these figures, both of whom were very interested in matters of church reform, and appreciated that he could be a valuable asset. Both were about a decade older than Tremellius: Pole had been born in 1500, and Peter Martyr the year before. This age difference, although relatively slight, would still have been significant, at this early stage in Tremellius' life, in giving the particular shape to the relationships between these men. Tremellius was young, ambitious and entering circles that were new to him; Pole and Martyr were older, more experienced, and better able to ease him into this new environment, and indeed to open further doors for him. The fact that they both played critical roles in bringing about Tremellius' two conversions, and shaping his particular faith, is testimony to the intimacy of these relationships, and also does much to explain why they should then both look after his best interests by organising employment for him. In both cases, it is important to appreciate that they did so out of a personal interest for Tremellius much more than as a means of serving any overriding concern.

Perhaps the best example of a close personal friendship from Tremellius' career once he was out of Italy was the one he shared with Matthew Parker (1504-75).[34] He too was older than Tremellius, but now that Tremellius was almost 40, a five-year age gap would no longer have had quite the same significance. On the other hand, Parker held a number of prestigious and influential positions. In December 1544, he had been elected master of Corpus Christi College at Cambridge, and in the following month, became vice-chancellor of the University. He was elected to this post again in February 1549, shortly before Tremellius took up his position as Regius Professor at the same university. In July 1559, following the accession of Queen Elizabeth, Parker was made Archbishop of Canterbury.

In letters exchanged between the two, the relationship has quite a formal appearance. For instance, in a letter of 1568, Tremellius refers to the Archbishop as "domino ac patrono meo clementissimo" and addresses him as "Reverendissime Domine, patrone benignissime".[35] Towards the end of the that same letter he describes himself as "T[uae] celsitudini addictissimus"; similarly he ends a letter of 1574 with the expression "Tuae celsitudini semper addictissimus".[36] 'Addictissimus', which means 'most devoted' or 'most dedicated' has overtones of indebtedness, and even dependence. However, it is clear that in using this terminology, Tremellius is simply following the conventions of letter-writing, and the formal nature of their relationship, which was one between a patron and his client. Yet while acting according to this basic principle, Parker does not seem to have provided anything tangible for Tremellius. However, just because it was not materially rewarding, its significance should not be diminished. Instead, Parker provided important emotional support. After all, Tremellius was an exile, forced to give up his family when he left Italy, if not on his conversion to

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34 On Parker see John Strype - The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker... The First Archbishop of Canterbury in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth (Oxford, 1821), James B. Mullinger - 'Parker, Matthew (1504-1575)' in DNB, vol. 15, pp.254-64, and V. J. K. Brook - A Life of Archbishop Parker (Oxford, 1965)

35 Tremellius to Matthew Parker, 16 September 1568, Parker Correspondence No.255, pp.332-3

36 Tremellius to Matthew Parker, 8 April 1574, Lambeth Palace Library, London, MS 2010: Fairhurst Papers, f.36

Christianity. Beyond his wife and children, Tremellius was obliged to rely on a small group of close friends, among whom Parker was one of the closest and longest-lasting.

This closeness developed very quickly. Although they probably only met for the first time in 1549 or early in 1550, it appears that Tremellius was named as godfather to Parker's third son, Matthew, who was born on 1 September 1551.[37] Strype, in relating this event in his Life of Parker, certainly stresses the closeness of their relationship:

> "This was the son, I suppose, for whom the Doctor [i.e. Parker] chose Immanuel Tremellius the foreigner (and then the Hebrew Professor in the University) to stand godfather, to give the greater countenance to his learning and piety. For the Doctor was so well pleased with this man, that there was maintained a great familiarity between them".[38]

Tremellius, similarly, was very flattered to have been chosen for this role. In the Preface to his Chaldaean Grammar, he records with great pride that Parker had chosen him, ahead of many other friends, to be the godfather of one of his children: "quod ex plurimis tam pietatis quam eruditionis nomine tibi coniunctissimis, me tibi deligendum aliquando putasti, cuius manibus filiolum tuum ecclesiæ Christi baptizandum offeres".[39]

Tremellius' friendship with Parker also far outlived the former's stay in England. The pair remained in contact by letter for the rest of their lives: the latest letter exchanged between them dates from 1574, only a year before Parker died.[40] Moreover, when Tremellius returned to England in the 1560s, while the University of Heidelberg was closed on account of plague, he stayed with Parker, for a period of about six months.[41]

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[37] In fact, the identity of the child is never mentioned, but this would seem most fully to correlate with both Tremellius' time in England, and what is known about Parker's sons. In all, Parker had four sons, two of whom, another Matthew and Joseph, died in infancy; the eldest, John, was born in May 1548, while the second child named Matthew, the third in order of birth, as we have just seen, was born in September 1551.

[38] Strype - Life of Parker, vol. I, p.59

[39] Tremellius - Grammatica Chaldaea et Syra (Geneva, 1569), p.6

[40] Tremellius to Matthew Parker, 8 April 1574, Lambeth Palace Library, London, MS 2010: Fairhurst Papers, f.36

[41] See the discussion of this event, and the problems relating to its exact dating, in Chapter one.

He was, of course, officially there as an envoy of the Elector Palatine, and would have had certain responsibilities associated with that. At the same time, he must have spent time reacquainting himself with Parker, as well as working on the volumes which he would publish at the end of that decade.

Tremellius was clearly very grateful for this hospitality that he received. We have a letter written by him to Parker from Frankfurt in September 1568. In it, he begins by expressing his regret that earlier letters he had sent have not yet arrived: "Ex literis reverendissimi intelligo meas literas tuæ celsitudini non esse reditas, quas per Flandricæ ecclesiæ secundos legatos miseram. Ob quam rem sane vehementer doleo".[42] He then goes on to emphasise that he does not wish Parker's hospitality to go unmentioned: "Videor enim vestrarum celsitudinem et beneficiorum immemor omnia silentio sepelivisse". Of course, his grief may be partly attributed to politeness, but there does seem to underlie this letter a continuing appreciation of the value that Parker may be to Tremellius, as well as a real sense of gratitude.

This was made even clearer in 1569 when Tremellius chose to dedicate his Chaldaean and Syriac Grammar to his former host. As Tremellius was responsible for relatively few works in the course of his life, to offer a dedication like this was a real compliment to Parker. This effect was perhaps magnified by the fact that the Grammar was also published in conjunction with Tremellius' polyglot New Testament, which he dedicated to Parker's own patron, Queen Elizabeth. In the address, he describes Parker as "domino suo et amico", and while most of the preface deals with the study of the Semitic languages more generally, when he turns to explain why he has dedicated the work to the archbishop, the theme of friendship again becomes clear. He begins by saying how he wondered to whom he should dedicate the work, "Sed quod, multis praeteritis, ad te reverendissime D. Matthæ, id nostræ in Christo familiaritati debes acceptum referre, quam ex eo tempore quum in scholam Cantabrigenses ad Hebræas

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[42] Tremellius to Matthew Parker, 16 September 1568, Parker Correspondence No.255

literas docendas vocatus fui, sancte inter nos coluimus".[43] He then refers explicitly to the baptism of Parker's son, and the hospitality that he has received, all the while using words which testify to their close relationship such as "fraternam", "amicitias" and "amiculorum veterum".[44]

Evidently, moreover, this familiarity extended to their respective families. Strype refers to one letter written as early as July 1552 by Tremellius in London to Parker, "wherein salutations are sent from his wife to Mrs Parker, and she sends a kiss to the little infant also".[45] The closeness between the two families is also clear from the many salutations which end the letter of September 1568: "Uxor C.T. reverenter salutat et immortales habet gratias. Rogat etiam una mecum ut C.T. dignetur optimam dominam una cum utroque filio nostris verbis salutare... Deus ac Pater coelestis tuam celsitudinem cum tota familia quam diutissime incolumem conservet".[46] Even if the material benefits from this patron were relatively slight, the emotional benefits which Tremellius, and his family, must have gained, would have been considerable. It is to be imagined, moreover, that Tremellius formed other relationships of this nature, for which the documentary material has simply not survived. His itinerant lifestyle might have meant this was not the easiest of things to do, but the absence of materials should not necessarily be interpreted as evidence of failure in this regard: a number of his relationships would have been with colleagues and neighbours, and there would rarely have been occasions when correspondence was necessary. In addition, as we will see in a number of the following sections, personal relations often coincided with other major themes.

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[43] Tremellius - Grammatica, p.6
[44] Tremellius - Grammatica, pp.6-7
[45] Strype - Life of Parker, vol. I, p.59; I have been unable to locate the original of this letter.
[46] Tremellius to Matthew Parker, 16 September 1568, Parker Correspondence No.255

Professional Connections

A second set of connections from which Tremellius benefited had an altogether more professional or formal aspect. In these, the concern was much less with the well-being of Tremellius himself, although this may still have been a factor; rather, they were relationships with individuals whose primary intention was with the allocation of responsibilities to suitably qualified individuals, or indeed with the distribution of patronage itself. Of course, even when this feature shaped some of Tremellius' relationships, they were often further coloured by both scholarly and confessional concerns, but these factors were arguably of secondary importance.

This was the most critical factor, for instance, in several relationships which Tremellius formed in the England of Edward VI. Under the direction of Thomas Cranmer and a handful of others, there was a concerted attempt to accelerate the pace of reformation in England in the new and more propitious circumstances.[47] The aim, clearly, was to bring about change as rapidly as possible, and to draft in from Europe those who could best bring this about. The timing in this regard was perhaps a little fortuitous. The Interim Settlement in the Empire meant that many academics and scholars were suddenly looking for somewhere new to go, at just the point that the accession of Edward VI allowed churchmen like Cranmer to offer invitations to England. The English Church was able to assist some of its leading co-religionists, but this was more a bonus. Regardless of events in Europe, the various posts would have remained to be filled.

Tremellius' invitation, in itself, highlights this point. He was at this stage both unpublished and pretty much unknown in England. On the recommendation of Martin Bucer, however, Cranmer issued to him an invitation to England.[48] Cranmer must have

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[47] See, for instance, Diarmaid MacCulloch - Thomas Cranmer, A Life (New Haven and London), p.380ff.
[48] On this invitation, see both Chapter one and below in this chapter.

valued Bucer's opinions, but he must also have realised that having Tremellius around would prove useful. The fact that he appointed Paul Fagius over Tremellius to the Regius Chair in Cambridge indicates his greater faith was in the other Hebraist, but his policy of having a reserve proved wise when Fagius died.[49] In addition, it reflected well on Cranmer for his house to be known as a resting post for the continental reformers. Nonetheless, he was primarily serving the interests of his country and church, rather than theirs.

Once in England, Tremellius was, of course, dependent on Cranmer in the first instance, but it would perhaps be an exaggeration to regard him as anything more than a facilitator. He brought Tremellius to England and provided an environment in which he could operate until such time as an opening appeared, but the extant sources do not allow us to say more than this about their relationship. Tremellius was also reliant on the support and assistance of certain others. The first of these figures was William Cecil. Cecil (1520-98) had been made a secretary of state and a member of the privy council in 1550. Indeed Jessopp writes that "from this time till his death he continued to occupy a position in the affairs of the nation such as no other man in Europe below the rank of a sovereign attained to, his transcendent genius and wonderful capacity for public business making him for forty-eight years an absolutely necessary minister to the three children of Henry VIII".[50] Moreover, his influence for those seeking crown patronage was crucial. In this regard, he seems to have made a special concern of his obtaining preferments for Protestant immigrants.[51]

It is apparent that Cecil filled this role in relation to Tremellius. In a letter written to Cecil, during his first stay there, Tremellius uses exactly the same terminology as he had done when addressing Matthew Parker. He describes Cecil as his "most kind patron" ("patronus humanissimus"), and himself as his "most devoted servant" ("addictissimus

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49 On Fagius, see Robert Bowes - 'Fagius, Paul (1504-1549)' in DNB vol. 6, p.984
50 Augustus Jessopp - 'Cecil, William, Lord Burghley (1520-1598)' in DNB vol.3, p.1316
51 John N. King - English Reformation Literature. The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition (Princeton, 1982), p.110

famulus"). Moreover, in the course of this letter, Tremellius expresses his gratitude for Cecil's patronage. He writes:

> Although I would not doubt, most illustrious Lord, and most kind patron, that you always occupy yourself with very serious business and are completely weighed down by it, I am nonetheless certain of your kindness... and of your singular benevolence towards me, which you have shown recently to me at court, I have now taken this to me, so that I may ask you, not to forget about me because of other business...Lord, who sees everything, may they repay you very much increased. Whom I beg that for a very long time may preserve most favourably your kindness with your whole family. Most devoted servant of your kindness, Immanuel Tremellius.[52]

It is not quite clear when this letter was written. Strype claims it was written in around 1548,[53] but there is a note in a different hand on the manuscript itself which gives the date 1551. John King suggests that Tremellius was writing following the recommendation to the canonry of Carlisle by the Bishop of Ely, upon which Cecil seems to have acted (see below), but as this was written in September 1552, this seems unlikely.[54] Moreover, this raises a second and related question: what had prompted Tremellius' letter? In the letter, he refers to "singulari tuae erga me benevolentiae, quam nuper mihi in aula demonstrasti". If the appointment to the canonry is eliminated as being too late, the most logical conclusion is that it relates to his appointment as Regius Professor of Hebrew, a position which he took up early in 1550.[55] If this is the case, the letter must have been written in 1550 or early in 1551. Tremellius' request that Cecil not forget about him was also obviously taken seriously, as Cecil seems to have played an important role in acquiring the canonry for Tremellius in 1552. Indeed, Cecil

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[52] Tremellius to William Cecil, n.d., B.L. MS Lansdowne 2 70: "Etsi non dubitem, clarissime Domine ac patrone humanissime, te semper gravissimis negotiis occupari ac p[a]ene obrui, confisus nihilominus charitati tuae... ac singulari tuae erga me benevolentiae, quam nuper mihi in aula demonstrasti, hac mihi nunc sumpsi, ut te rogarem, ne mei ob alia negotia curam remittas... Dominus, qui omnia videt, tibi cumulatissime rependent. Quem oro, ut diutissime tuam humanitatem cum tota familia felicissime conservet. Tuae humanitati addictissimus famulus, Immanuel Tremellius".

[53] John Strype - Ecclesiastical Memorials Relating Chiefly to Religion and the Reformation of It (2 vols., Oxford, 1822) Vol.2. pt i. p.323

[54] King - Print, Patronage and Propaganda, p.110

[55] Fagius had died on 13 November 1549, and Tremellius seems to have replaced him almost immediately. John Le Neve - Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae: or a calendar of the Principal Ecclesiastical Dignitaries in England and Wales and of the Chief Officers in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge (3 vols, Oxford, 1854), vol. iii, p.659 records that Tremellius was appointed Professor in 1550.

is the common link for Tremellius' two main preferments in England. As we have already noted, however, Cecil made it his responsibility to look after the interests of Protestant immigrants. He occupied a position of power, and through the distribution of patronage to these ingénues, he could only further strengthen his position. One would not wish to eliminate either altruism nor a concern for Protestantism as a whole from his motives, but these would seem to be secondary to his desire to be at the centre of power.

Also involved in Tremellius' appointment to his canonry was the Bishop of Ely, Thomas Goodrich (d.1554).[56] Goodrich had been promoted to this position in April 1534.[57] On the accession of Edward VI he became a member of the privy council, and then, in 1548, he was appointed one of the royal commissioners for the visitation of the University of Cambridge. He took part in the compilation of the first Book of Common Prayer of 1549, before becoming Lord Chancellor in January 1552. Not long after this, in a letter to Cecil, dated 5 September 1552, Goodrich, who describes himself as Cecil's "assured loving friend", addressed the issue of the prebend of Carlisle Cathedral, which, following the death of William Pirrie, had become open. As he mentions in the letter, he had previously asked for this post for Dr. Bellasis, but as he had subsequently died, Goodrich now sought this post for Tremellius.

> Forasmuch as Immanuel, the Hebrew reader in Cambridge taketh great pains having little to take unto, I thought it well bestowed, if he might obtain it... forasmuch as I understand by one Anthony, a Frenchman, who is in [the] house with the said Immanuel, that you yourself mentioned the matter. Wherefore if it shall stand with your pleasure to help him to it, I shall be very well contented, and glad thereof; and ye in so doing shall deserve thanks at the university's hand, and have him your continual orator for the same. As knoweth Jesus, who have [i.e. has] you in his keeping.[58]

Several features of this letter merit comment. First, Goodrich had already asked for this prebend for someone else before Tremellius. It would seem that Goodrich was as much

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56 Thompson Cooper - 'Goodrich or Goodricke, Thomas D.D. (d.1554)' in DNB vol. 8, pp.135-6
57 Le Neve - Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae vol.1, p.341
58 Thomas Goodrich to William Cecil, 5th September 1552, BL MS Lansdowne 2, 90. See also the transcription and discussion in Strype - Ecclesiastical Memorials Vol.II., pt. ii. pp.53-4

concerned to see the prebend filled as to see its recipient being Tremellius; in other words, he had no particular reason to advance Tremellius' case. Rather, there was a connection between Goodrich and Cecil, and thereby to Crown patronage, and Tremellius' preferment must be seen in this context. Certainly Goodrich does not give any indication in this letter of closeness either with Tremellius or Chevallier, whom he simply describes as "one Anthony, a Frenchman". Secondly, Cecil's role is a little unclear from this passage. When Goodrich comments that Cecil "mentioned the matter", it is not apparent whether this refers to Tremellius' appointment as Hebrew reader or this new preferment. More likely, perhaps, is the former, but either way, it is evident that Goodrich uses Cecil's previous involvement as a bargaining tool: he refers to the existing patron/client relationship between Cecil and Tremellius, and implies that this should be furthered through this new recommendation.

Finally, Goodrich refers to the various benefits which will come as a result of Tremellius' receiving the prebend. Goodrich says that he will be both "contented" and "glad": this rather suggests that he expects Cecil to act in accordance with his wishes, perhaps because as a bishop he held a prominent position in society himself. Cambridge University will be grateful, as will Tremellius, but arguably more persuasive is the fact that Cecil will be praised by Tremellius within the university. The mutual benefits of patronage are manifest in this letter. Evidently they were also sufficient to persuade Cecil to promote Tremellius' case: Tremellius received the prebend at Carlisle on 24 October 1552, and was allocated his stall in the choir and place in the chapter two days later.[59]

Evidently, moreover, Tremellius maintained his connection with Cecil beyond his initial stay in England. In a letter from Fontainebleau in February 1561, he writes that he has heard, through the Duke of Bedford, that Cecil is even more influential in the court of Queen Elizabeth than he had been in the court of Edward VI, and congratulates him.[60]

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[59] See the grants of 24 and 26 October 1552 in CPR, vol. II, p.262 and 277 respectively.
[60] Tremellius to William Cecil, 19 February 1561 CSP-Foreign (1560-1) No.1008, p.554

Tremellius reminds Cecil that he, Tremellius, was one of the earliest Evangelical foreigners to have been patronised by Edward, receiving a free denizenship, a salary, and a canonry in Carlisle cathedral. However, he goes on, following the accession of Mary, and the confusion which immediately ensued, his furniture and goods were confiscated before he could sell them; it was his intention to do this before joining his wife and family who had already moved to Germany. Tremellius refers Cecil to a certain George Medele to confirm his claims, before asking him to see that he receives a reasonable compensation for these losses. Tremellius returned to this subject in a second letter, written from Paris on 4 May, emphasising on that occasion that the prebend had been obtained through Cecil's intervention.[61]

This pragmatic element undoubtedly contributed to other friendships and promotions which Tremellius enjoyed during his career. He was a man who possessed rare skills, and to a level second to none. Inevitably, therefore, there was a general interest in him, and an awareness that he would make a good employee whenever positions became vacant. One should not overlook the fact that, especially when there was not fully developed competition for professorships, there was a role to be played by people who could simply match up candidates with appropriate posts. Tremellius was undoubtedly the grateful recipient of his fair share of such patronage; in some ways, in fact, this highlights the manner in which this system could be successful itself. Tremellius did not go out of his way to seek support, but he did make sure that his name was known in the relevant circles, so that when a position came up, he was automatically in the running for it. As we will see in later sections, moreover, there were other factors which made certain people even more inclined to assist him whenever they could.

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[61] Tremellius to William Cecil, 4 May 1561 CSP-Foreign (1561-2) No.171, p.99

Political Connections

A further set of figures with whom Tremellius may be associated was also somewhat detached from him, although in a slightly different way from those considered in the last section. These were a whole range of leading political and ruling figures. Some of these, including Edward VI of England, Duke Wolfgang of Zweibrücken, and Frederick, the Elector Palatine, were his direct employers; it is, at the same time, difficult to gauge how much personal contact he had with these figures. Tremellius also came into contact with various other rulers through his diplomatic activities. As we have already seen, between his involvement on behalf of the Protestants of Metz, and his negotiations with various Protestants regarding the forthcoming session of Trent, he spoke with Charles IX of France, his mother Catherine de Medici and King Henry of Navarre.[62] Also, at that time he came into contact with certain unspecified German Protestant princes. Later on, he was sent as an ambassador to Elizabeth I of England by the Elector Frederick.

Unfortunately, the surviving evidence allows very little detail to be added to these various relationships. In particular, we get precious few insights into what was made of Tremellius by these figures. For instance in a letter to Boisnormand, Calvin writes that Tremellius had been invited to join the Academy in Geneva, but that the Duke of Zweibrücken had not allowed him to go, saying that his own academy would suffer greatly as a result.[63] It is perhaps to be expected that these various monarchs and princes would not expend much energy in recording their interactions with one ambassador or teacher among the many with whom they came into contact. It is, however, striking how wide a range of figures with whom Tremellius did come into contact, particularly given that he was, first and foremost, a university professor. To

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62 "The said Emanuel has not yet spoken with the French King, but this other day spake with the King of Navarre, and is now gone to the court to have audience." Throckmorton to the Queen, 9 May 1561, CSP-Foreign (1561-2), No.189, p.106

63 John Calvin to Francis Boisnormand, 27 March 1559, C.O. 3030

have met these rulers would not be exceptional were he an ambassador, but in that event he would not have become so fully involved in scholarly circles.

A second, overlapping, set of political figures is constituted by those to whom he dedicated the majority of his writings. The dedication of several works to Frederick III is the most straightforward phenomenon to explain. Frederick (1515-76), had become Elector Palatine in 1559 on the death of Ottoheinrich.[64] He only embraced the Reformed faith in 1561, but immediately dismissed all the Lutheran pastors and theology professors who had served his predecessor, and replaced them with Calvinists. Tremellius was among those who owed their appointment to this set of circumstances. He remained employed in the theology faculty of Heidelberg until Frederick's death in 1576. This was arguably the most stable period of Tremellius' life, and also his most prolific in terms of published writings. To Frederick, Tremellius dedicated his In Hoseam Prophetam Interpretatio et Enarratio of 1563,[65] his Latin translation of Ionathae Filii Uzielis...Chaldæa paraphrasis in duodecim minores Prophetas of 1567,[66] and the first two parts of his translation of the Old Testament (the dedication of the first part effectively covers the work as a whole), both dated 1575.[67]

These dedications must be considered as politically expedient: Tremellius was no doubt grateful for his appointment to the chair at Heidelberg, and, moreover, would have been keen to retain the favour of the Elector. Addressing his works to his patron would be the most straightforward manner by which he could do both of these. In any case, it was traditional to do such a thing; it would have been more surprising if Tremellius had not

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[64] On Frederick III, see Owen Chadwick - 'The Making of a Reforming Prince: Frederick III, Elector Palatine' in R. Buick Knox (Ed.) - Reformation, Conformity and Dissent: Essays in Honour of Geoffrey Nuttall (London, 1979), pp.44-69

[65] Tremellius - In Hoseam Prophetam Interpretatio et Enarratio Immanuelis Tremellii Theologiæ doctoris, una cum aliaru tam veterum quam recentiu interpretationum examine & iudicio, unde earum errores non modo facile possint animadverti, sed fontes ipsi ex quibus fluxerint certo comperiri & penitus inspici a quovis queant (Geneva, 1563)

[66] Tremellius - Ionathae Filii Uzielis, Antiquissimi & summæ apud Hebæos authoritatis Chaldæa paraphrasis in duodecim minores Prophetas, per Immanuelem Tremelium, Theologiæ Doctorem & Professorem latine reddita (Heidelberg, 1567)

[67] Tremellius and Franciscus Junius - Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra, sive libri canonici Latine recens ex Hebraeo facti... (Frankfurt, 1575)

dedicated at least some of his writings to Frederick. At various stages through these dedications, which also spend much time defending the subject matter of the individual works, Tremellius expresses his gratitude to his new patron. The following extract, from the end of the preface to his work on Hosea is typical of these sentiments:

> Ex interea dum Excellentiae tuae ingenii fructibus uberiores offere possim, hoc munusculum benigne accipies, ea clementia qua soles caetera licet perexigua, quae tibi a subiectis propenso animo offeruntur. Consuevisti enim ex dantis affectu muneris magnitudinem aestimare. Erit hoc ipsum pignum meae erga C.T. observantiae & studii, ac specimen quoddam doctrinae, quam sub eius auspiciis, eius stipendiis, & in eius Academiae Heidelbergae profiteor.[68]

After a career spent wandering through much of Europe, Tremellius' appreciation of the stability and security which he found at this prestigious university was no doubt genuine. Even if his contact with the Elector was infrequent, he had much for which to be thankful.

However, Tremellius also gave political dedications to a number of works which cannot be quite so simply explained. His translation of Calvin's catechism into Hebrew of 1554 was dedicated to Duke Christoph of Württemberg, with whom he had no professional association.[69] The duchy of Württemberg was the largest and most important territory in the south-western corner of the Holy Roman Empire; its conversion to Protestantism was highly significant, as it brought with it many of the imperial cities and smaller principalities in the region.[70] Duke Christoph (1515-68) was slow to follow his father in converting from Catholicism, but he too became a Lutheran.[71] Tremellius' dedication of so clearly Calvinistic a work to this man, only a few years after his succession to this crucial territory, raises interesting possibilities. It could, for instance, have been intended as an effort to persuade Christoph to change his

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[68] Tremellius - In Hoseam Prophetam, pp.13-14

[69] I have been unable to confirm whether the even rarer 1551 version of this work was also dedicated to Duke Christoph. The dedication in the later work is dated 1554, which would suggest that it was composed specifically for that edition.

[70] On Württemberg see Robert Uhland (Ed.) - 900 Jahre Haus Württemberg (Stuttgart, 1984)

[71] On Christoph see ibid., pp.136-62

religious loyalties. If this was the case, it was not successful. Duke Christoph remained sympathetic to moderate Calvinists and Huguenots in difficulty, for instance, but he was not prepared to raise arms in their defence, and he remained loyal to Lutheran theology. On the other hand, it may have had a rather more self-serving purpose. It is possible that, despite the subject matter, Tremellius was seeking to indicate to the reading/ academic audience, that he was above confessional divisions. The preface itself does not really answer these questions. Tremellius refers to the Duke as "domino ac patrono [meo] benignissimo", but does not elaborate on this idea; the preface itself concentrates more on explaining why he has chosen to make a translation of this work into Hebrew.[72]

Each part of the Tremellius-Junius Bible had its own dedication, too. As we have just seen, the Old Testament as a whole, and the second part of it, were both dedicated to Frederick, the Elector Palatine. The third part was dedicated to his son, Johann Casimir, while the fourth part was addressed to William, the Landgrave of Hesse. Junius' translation of the Apocrypha was dedicated to William of Orange, while Tremellius' New Testament was addressed to Elizabeth I of England (this last dedication was true both of the New Testament which appeared in 1569 alongside the Chaldaean grammar, and when it appeared as part of the complete Bible edition). None of these four had properly employed Tremellius - he had, of course, briefly and indirectly, assisted the representatives of the English crown in certain diplomatic negotiations - so these dedications cannot simply be regarded as expressions of gratitude.

To an extent, however, they may be seen as efforts to enhance his employment potential. In Johann Casimir, in particular, he might have hoped that, on the death of Frederick III, he had found an immediate replacement as employer; in the event, however, Tremellius was not among the number of Heidelberg professors who followed Johann to his new academy, following the succession of the Lutheran Ludwig VI.[73]

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[72] This aspect of the preface will be discussed more fully in the next chapter.
[73] See Gustav Adolf Benrath - 'Das Casimirianum, die reformierte Hohe Schule in Neustadt an der

Similarly, we have seen that Tremellius had, in the early 1560s, used Throckmorton to make a case with Elizabeth for enlisting his services; the dedication of his New Testament came at the end of that decade (1569). There may be an extent to which, albeit at a more general level, Tremellius and Junius were doing the same thing with the other two dedicatees. Although there seem to have been no real existing connections between them, they may have appreciated the advantages of earning an initial level of credibility in this manner.

However, two further, connected, reasons may be adduced for these various dedications. First, and especially when all taken together, they make a very clear expression of confessional identity, indeed one which, as we will see in Chapters five and six, is largely missing from the works themselves. Each of these figures was strongly associated with the Reformed faith in their respective territories. In dedicating the different parts of their Bible to them, Tremellius and Junius were demonstrating very simply the political loyalties of the work and its authors. Secondly, these figures were closely identified with international movements, whether this was simply a negative anti-Catholicism, or a more positive concern with European Calvinism. As we will see below, Elizabeth's representatives sought to involve Tremellius in efforts to hinder the third session of the Council of Trent, and to establish a Protestant League. Johann Casimir, similarly, tried to organise a European alliance of Protestants in 1590. Before that he had offered support to Elizabeth and Henry of Navarre. In addition to his role in the Revolt of the Netherlands, William of Orange, like Elizabeth and Johann Casimir, had involved himself in the French Wars.

One should perhaps be wary of reading too much into Tremellius' dedications to these figures who can be associated with the politicisation of Calvinism, but, at the same time, he was by no means naïve. If this was a connection that he did not wish to be made, there were numerous colleagues and scholars to whom he could equally have dedicated

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Haardt (1578-1584)' in Claus-Peter Westrich (Ed.) - Neustadt und die Kurpfalz. Die Universität Heidelberg und ihre Beziehungen zur linksrheinischen Pfalz (Heidelberg, 1986), pp.39-51

the volumes; indeed, there was no obvious need for each of these volumes to contain separate dedications in the first place. One must conclude that this was a conscious decision, and therefore we may surmise that Tremellius saw his Bible as an integral part of his plan. It would be a work around which Protestants, and Calvinists especially, from across Europe, could unite. The fact that William of Orange, a man renowned for his religious toleration, was one of the dedicatees ought to dismiss any simplistic generalisations about this set of dedications revealing a more confrontational side to Tremellius; nonetheless, they do perhaps give a good indication of his internationalism, and his concern for the Reformed faith, as a Europe-wide phenomenon.

Intellectual Friendships

Of a rather more personal character were the various intellectual friendships which arose from membership of the international republic of letters. This was true, for instance, of Tremellius' relations with Martin Bucer (1491-1551);[74] there were several dimensions to this relationship. It was certainly a close one, and might, on certain grounds, have merited inclusion in the 'personal' category. Like Pole, Martyr and Parker, Bucer looked after the younger man out of a sense of kindness, and helped with the advancement of his career. Again there was a sizeable age difference: when they first met, Bucer was about 50, while Tremellius was just 30. His connection with Martyr may have been the determining factor in Tremellius' gaining employment at the Academy in Strasbourg, but it has also been suggested that Tremellius resided with Bucer on his arrival there. The three likely developed a close relationship at this point. All were Hebraists (Bucer had studied Greek and Hebrew at Heidelberg), and all were moderates, inclined towards a policy of conciliation. When the Interim made it awkward to remain in Strasbourg, Bucer intervened on Tremellius' behalf, persuading

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[74] On Bucer see the various articles in D. F. Wright (Ed.) - Martin Bucer. Reforming Church and Community (Cambridge, 1994), as well as Steven Rowan - 'Luther, Bucer and Eck on the Jews' in SCJ 16 (1985), pp.79-90. On Bucer's exegesis, see the various articles by Gerald Hobbs.

Archbishop Cranmer to invite him to England.[75] Their relationship was then continued in Cambridge, where they were appointed professors of divinity and Hebrew respectively.[76]

In January 1550, Bucer began a series of lectures on the Letter to the Ephesians, but his death from illness in February 1551 brought this to a premature end. According to his own testimony, Tremellius had himself attended these lectures. In 1562, he published both an edition of these lectures, and another work drawn from one of the chapters of the larger work, which focused specifically on Bucer's views on the Christian ministry. These appeared as: Praelectiones doctiss. in Epistolam D.P. ad Ephesios and Libellus Vere Aureus D. Martini Buceri de vi et usu Sacri Ministerii, both of which were published by Peter Perna in Basle.[77] In the preface to the first of these, Tremellius explains that Bucer had in fact dealt with this letter before, publishing a commentary on it when he was 27, but now, aged 50 ('quinquagesimo': in fact, he was 60), in these lectures he was bringing his greater experience to bear.[78] Unfortunately, he goes on, Bucer was struck down when he had got no further than the fifth chapter. Rather than leaving the new material unpublished, however, Tremellius says that he has decided to produce an imperfect work, and to draw on the earlier commentary to fill in the gaps left by Bucer's demise. His attitude is very much that the Church will still benefit greatly from the dissemination of these works, even if they do not entirely reflect Bucer's mature thoughts on these matters.

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[75] See Chapter one for the text of this letter. It is also discussed in MacCulloch - Thomas Cranmer, p.381

[76] See Basil Hall - 'Martin Bucer in England' in D.F.Wright (Ed.) - Martin Bucer. Reforming Church and Community (Cambridge, 1994), pp.144-60, Philip M. J. McNair - 'Peter Martyr in England' in Joseph C. McLelland (Ed.) - Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform (Ontario, Canada, 1980), pp.85-105 and M.A.Overell - 'Peter Martyr in England, 1547-1553: An Alternative View' in SCJ 15 (1984), pp.87-104

[77] Tremellius - Praelectiones doctiss. in Epistolam D.P. ad Ephesios, eximii doctoris Martini Buceri, habitae Cantabrigiae in Anglia, Anno MD.L. & LI. Ex ore praelegentis collectae, & nunc primum in lucem editae, diligentia Immanuelis Tremellii (Basle, 1562) and Tremellius - Libellus Vere Aureus D. Martini Buceri de vi et usu Sacri Ministerii cum in genere tum de singulis partibus eius, nunquam antehac typis impressus (Basle, 1562)

[78] For a consideration of Bucer's two treatments of this subject, see Peter Stephens - 'The church in Bucer's commentaries on the Epistle to the Ephesians' in D. F. Wright (Ed.) - Martin Bucer. Reforming Church and Community (Cambridge, 1994), pp.45-60

Moreover, in the dedications to these works, Tremellius lays forth his evaluation of the older man. In his introduction to Bucer's lectures, Tremellius writes:

> tamen cum eximii viri D. Martini Buceri egregias virtutes, animiq dotes, & indefessum studium in mentem revoco, non possum quin singulare divinæ benevolentiæ testimonium in hoc viro Germaniæ contigisse, fatear: Quod quidem non solum Germania, verumetiam Anglia... Etenim illis concionando, docendo, scribendo, & Ecclesias eorum a papisticis sordibus repurgando, diligentissime simul ac fidelissime inservivit: cum adversariis vero, non semel & iterum, sed sæpius, nec scriptis modo eminus, sed viva voce ex verbo Dei cominus strenuissime certamen conservit.[79]

Such sentiments also seem to underlie his publication, as a separate volume, of Bucer's views on the Christian ministry. Echoing the start of the dedication of the first work, Tremellius begins

> How useful it may be, and also how necessary... to teach and diligently to instruct men concerning the sacred ministry of the church, especially in this our own time, all sensible people may easily understand, who cannot consider the confusion of this most worthy ministry without a great grief of the spirit. For Satan, the author of every confusion against the most holy order and discipline of the church, never raged more than today.[80]

Tremellius then continues at some length to explain the problems facing the contemporary church, before writing: "When the distinguished man and remarkable Doctor of Theology, Martin Bucer saw this necessity, he wrote a book in which he explained, with dexterity, the whole ministry by its parts".[81] Again, Tremellius justifies his publication of this work on the grounds that it will be beneficial to the church as a whole.

Although one must of course be wary of taking too much of a prefatory letter at face value, Tremellius' high regard for Bucer is manifest. Presumably he also had a certain sympathy for his ideas on theological and ecclesiological matters, even if he was not

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79 Tremellius - Praectiones... in Epistolam.. ad Ephesios, p.3
80 Tremellius - Libellus vere Aureus, p.3
81 Ibid., p.4

inclined to express his personal views explicitly. Given Bucer's reputation for moderation, and his various efforts to effect conciliation between the different confessions,[82] it is hardly surprising that Tremellius found in him a kindred spirit, and indeed that, with the exception of his translation of Calvin's catechism, Bucer was the only person with whose work he involved himself. It is perhaps this last factor which should stop one from seeking any more cynical reason for the publication of this work. It is possible that Tremellius would have profited from these two volumes financially, at least to some extent. However, it was the friendship between the two, and their intellectual consensus, which really explains why he involved himself in this project.

An offshoot from this relationship was the one which Tremellius enjoyed with Conrad Hubert (1507-77). Hubert had in 1545 come to Strasbourg, where he served as a pastor and the assistant of Martin Bucer. While Bucer left Strasbourg at about the same time as Tremellius, Hubert did not, indeed remaining there until his death. He was a song-writer, and produced two editions of the Strasbourg hymnbook in 1560 and 1572. His time in Strasbourg, and especially his connection with Bucer, must have led to his introduction to Tremellius towards the end of the 1540s. Seven letters sent by Tremellius to Hubert between 1555 and 1559 exist, although we do not have any of Hubert's replies.[83] Their friendship does not seem especially close, although, at least in terms of the surviving material, Hubert was Tremellius' most frequent correspondent. The legacy of Bucer was undoubtedly a key factor they shared. On several occasions, Tremellius refers to his efforts to get Bucer's lectures to the press. In addition, as we will see in the next chapter, Tremellius spent one letter explaining in considerable detail his duties as tutor to the children of the Duke of Zweibrücken.

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82 For instance on this see Cornelis Augustijn - 'Bucer's ecclesiology in the colloquies with the Catholics, 1540-1' in D. F. Wright (Ed.) - Martin Bucer. Reforming Church and Community (Cambridge, 1994), pp.107-21

83 The letters are dated 17 August 1555, 15 May 1556, 15 December 1557, 16 January 1558, 6 September 1559, 23 October 1559, and 9 November 1559.

Another friendship which dated from his time in England was that with Antoine Chevallier.[84] Chevallier (1523-72) had come to England during the reign of Edward VI, perhaps in 1548. He was entertained by Fagius and Bucer and Archbishop Cranmer, before being sent to Cambridge, where he gave free lectures in Hebrew, and lodged with Tremellius. Chevallier married Tremellius' stepdaughter on 1 December 1550. Their eldest child, Emanuel, presumably named in honour of his grandfather, was born at Cambridge on 8 September 1551. Antoine would go on to teach Hebrew in Strasbourg, Geneva, and then Cambridge, where he held the Regius Professorship in his own right.

Chevallier crops up in the correspondence of Tremellius, and in sources relating to him. For instance in his letter to Lord John Grey, the uncle of Lady Jane Grey, Calvin writes: "The grief which the false rumour, spread about of your death, had caused me, was but recently alleviated by the report of Emmanuel Tremellius, and his son-in-law Antoine..."[85]. Then in a letter to Francis Boisnormand, one of the chaplains of the king of Navarre, Calvin explains why he has been unable to appoint him as professor of Hebrew:

> Sed interea dum suspensi tenemur, accidit ecclesiae Lausannensis calamitas, cuius famam ad vos usque volitasse credibile est. Ita ex praesenti occasione electus et Antonius Chevallerius, ipsius Immanuelis gener... Hoc breviter tibi narrare volui, ne te a nobis neglectum existimes qui ex re subita et inopinata, ut vides, consilium coepimus.[86]

About six months before this letter was written, Calvin had written to Tremellius, offering him the same post. He begins by blaming Chevallier for his delay in writing: "As our friend Antoine put into my hands a month later than he should have done the letter you entrusted to him, and upon which depended the execution of our project, I was unwilling, after such a lapse of time, to spend my time to no purpose in writing an answer to it".[87] Obviously, Tremellius had believed, perhaps wrongly in this instance,

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[84] Sidney Lee - 'Chevallier, Anthony Rodolph (1523-1572)' in DNB vol.4, pp.214-15
[85] Calvin to Lord John Grey, 13 November 1554, C.O. 2044
[86] Calvin to Francis Boisnormand, 27 March 1559, C.O. 3030
[87] Calvin to Tremellius, 29 August 1558, C.O. 2944

that he could rely on a member of his family to convey his important messages. Previously, Tremellius had himself written to Calvin in June 1554, to thank the Genevan for his efforts to advance his career and that of Chevallier: "Gener meus te plurimum salutat et maximas mecum agit gratias quod tuo etiam patrocinio inprimis adiutus statum aliquem obtinuerit".[88] In writing also on behalf of his son-in-law, Tremellius gives a very clear indication of his concern for his family as a whole, and an appreciation of what Calvin had done for both himself and Chevallier.

References to Tremellius in the correspondence of Chevallier are relatively rare. However, a letter exists from December 1559 to Theodore Beza, in which Chevallier lays forth the various reasons which prompted him to publish his Rudimenta Hebraicae Linguae. Towards the end of the letter, he praises Tremellius, above all, among his various teachers, in explaining how he has come to his own understanding of sacred matters:

> "...partim ipse per me longo et indefesso studio, partim audiendis doctissimis hominibus, Francisco Vatablo, Paulo Fagio, et praecipue Immanuele Tremellio socero meo, sum in hac lingua consequutus, id omne ad communem studiosorum usum depromerem, nemini mortalium potius quam tibi has meas primitias putavi consecrandas".[89]

Chevalier had been a pupil of Vatable in Paris, and had spent time with both Fagius and Tremellius in England. That he should draw special attention to Tremellius may reflect a higher regard for him, but one can not overlook the familial connection. Moreover, Tremellius had in fact produced a letter, written in Hebrew, with which Chevallier prefaced the Rudimenta, the work which he is explaining to Beza, so his debts were both personal and academic.

In this letter of dedication, which is written in a highly elaborate tone, and rich with biblical allusions of its own, Tremellius begins by lamenting the absence of suitably

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88 Tremellius to Calvin, 14 June 1554, C.O. 1971
89 Chevallier to Beza, C.deB. 153

qualified men for teaching Hebrew. He then moves on to rejoice that God has chosen Chevallier, the author of the work which follows, to correct this failing. He writes:

> He chose for himself my son-in-law, as dear to me as my own life with whom for many years I have enjoyed sweet fellowship, together in counsel. Blessed be he and blessed be his name who gave me before my death a man like him who sits in my seat. He gave his heart to instruction and all which he did with his hand prospers and it was as a witness at the door of the tent of meeting which he built for him there, justice for a cord and the book did not have a surplus of vanity and he removed false words from it. He revealed deeper things than I, darkness came out to light, deep darkness until it was good which will like others be for him the greatest servant.

He then moves on to extol, again in very colourful phrases, the benefits which will come from this book:

> Therefore sons, listen carefully to my words, and I will announce in your ears, and your storehouses will be full of food, and you will tread winepresses and they will overflow, and there will be no end to your treasures. If you long for and hear, this book will be for you at all times between your hands for every good thing overflows in order with what follows, a witness here and a witness there.[90]

The mutual academic respect with which Tremellius and Chevallier viewed each other is clear.

Finally, we have a letter which Tremellius wrote to Chevallier, in French, from Heidelberg in September 1570, a couple of years before the latter's death.[91] The letter covers a wide range of minor issues of business. Tremellius apologises for not having been able to do what Chevallier has wanted him to do in relation to certain unspecified books. He also mentions letters which he had received from Chevallier, and that he had been in Frankfurt. He refers to his New Testament and Grammar, and the fact that he had dedicated these to Queen Elizabeth and Archbishop Parker. Indeed, he asks

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[90] Tremellius' prefatory letter to Antoine Chevallier - Rudimenta Hebraicae Linguae, accurata methodo et brevitate conscripta. (Geneva, 1560) I am indebted to Stephen Burnett who translated the Hebrew of this letter for me, and explained many of its allusions.

[91] Tremellius to Antoine Chevallier, 16 September 1570, Lambeth Palace Library, London: MS 2010: Farirhurst Papers, f.19

Chevallier to speak with the Archbishop on his behalf. He remarks that he had recently been sent by the Prince, presumably Frederick III, to Metz, which has prevented him from working on other matters. Towards the end of the letter he mentions that he had received a privilege from the emperor to print a work. Given the date of this letter, this may well refer to his Old Testament, which started to appear from 1575 onwards. Tremellius concludes by asking Chevallier to greet various friends, including M. Samson, from whom he had recently received a letter, and M. Eton.

The evidence of this letter would suggest that Chevallier and Tremellius were in relatively regular contact and that they exchanged information on a wide range of subjects. Moreover, on top of this, there is a good indication of affection between the two. In the course of the letter, Tremellius asks that books be given to Chevallier's son, Immanuel. He says also that he has sent a small present for Alice, presumably Chevallier's wife, and the children, and also one for Immanuel. In his farewells, Tremellius sends greetings from himself and his wife to Alice and their children. The academic connection, and the advantages of having a reliable contact in England, were clearly supplemented by strong personal ties.

Franciscus Junius, or Francois du Jon (1545-1602), as we have seen, has frequently been considered a son-in-law of Tremellius, but there is no evidence for this.[92] Junius had studied law in France, before moving on to Geneva, where he studied theology and Hebrew. Following the death of his father, he became a preacher, and then, in 1565, a pastor in Antwerp. He left the Low Countries in 1567, becoming a pastor of the refugee church in Schonau near Heidelberg. In 1578, he went on to become the professor of theology and Hebrew at Johann Casimir's new academy established in Neustadt, before moving on to Leiden in 1592. His non-confrontational attitude is exemplified in his most famous work, the Eirenicum de pace ecclesiae catholicae. In this text, which was

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92 On Junius, see Christiaan de Jonge - De Irenische Ecclesiologie van Franciscus Junius, 1545-1602 (Nieuwkoop, 1980) and Ibid. - 'Franciscus Junius (1545-1602) and the English Separatists at Amsterdam' in Derek Baker (Ed.) - Reform and Reformation: England and the Continent, c.1500-c.1750 (Oxford, 1979), pp.165-73

written for Henry IV of France, Junius advocated the peaceful coexistence between all those who based their faith on the acceptance of scripture and the centrality of Christ's redemptive death. Such attitudes fit very closely with the outlook which we have already identified in relation to Tremellius. Unfortunately, despite their collaboration on their Latin edition of the Old Testament, one of the seminal works to appear from the Reformation era, there seems to be no direct correspondence between Tremellius and Junius. Of course, the main reason for that is that they were living and working within close proximity for most of the period of their friendship. Junius came to Schonau in 1567, and Tremellius left Heidelberg in 1576, not long before his own death. During this period of ten years they must have been in regular personal contact.

Tremellius also enjoyed an acquaintance with Joachim Camerarius (1500-1574).[93] Camerarius had studied at Leipzig and Erfurt, gaining a reputation as a scholar of the classics, and especially of Greek. He then moved to the University of Wittenberg, where he became the lifelong friend of Philip Melanchthon.[94] Camerarius enjoyed a successful, if rather peripatetic, academic career, serving as rector of the new gymnasium of Nuremberg, professor at the University of Tübingen, and rector and dean of the University of Leipzig, the last of which posts he held from 1541 until his death. In addition to being an accomplished administrator, he played a significant role as an advocate of classical studies. He was regarded by many contemporaries as the successor of Erasmus, while historians have considered him one of the greatest polymaths of the century. He was a prolific classical scholar, historian and poet, producing more than 150 works over the course of his life. Moreover, his humanist inclinations and close association with Melanchthon, placed him in the camp of the German intellectuals who sought religious compromise in the second quarter of the century. Although he latterly came to lament the factionalism and intransigence which

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93 On Camerarius, see Frank Baron (Ed.) - Joachim Camerarius, 1500-1574: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Humanismus im Zeitalter der Reformation (Munich, 1978)

94 Camerarius was Melanchthon's first biographer and published his correspondence. See Timothy J. Wengert - '"With Friends Like These..." : The Biography of Philip Melanchthon by Joachim Camerarius' in Thomas F. Mayer and D. R. Woolf (Eds.) - The Rhetorics of Life-Writing in Early Modern Europe: Forms of Biography from Cassandra Fedele to Louis XIV (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1995), pp.115-31

characterised German theologians, he continued to endorse Melanchthon's efforts to achieve religious peace through a flexibility on doctrine and a willingness to compromise on "matters indifferent" (adiaphora). It is evident that here again we have another figure whose personal creed was already very similar to that of Tremellius. Both were humanists, and both were inclined to avoid religious confrontation.

Only one letter, written by Tremellius to Camerarius in December 1558 survives, but it is still instructive.[95] It is evident from his opening remarks that he was replying to a specific request from Camerarius, although this is now lost. Recent events in England, and especially the death of Queen Mary, constitute the first subject of discussion. It may well be that Tremellius had better or more regular English contacts than Camerarius. He writes: "Mense Novembri Maria, Regina Angliae crudelissima et Evangelio Christi capitalis inimica, cum maximo omnium subditorum (sacrificulis exceptis) gaudio, exhalavit animam". Clearly Tremellius' sources have very quickly informed him of developing events; his religious orientation is also clear from the manner in which he interprets the death of Mary, and is equally evident in his description of what will happen next: "Illi totius nobilitatis ac plebis consensu atque applausu maximo Elysabetha soror, quemadmodum imo postulabat, in regnum successit". Later in the letter, Tremellius goes on to mention his old friend Reginald Pole, although he makes no reference to the role that the latter played in his conversion, nor his refusal to meet him in 1554: "Constituta Elysabetha in Regno coepit primum de Cardinali Polo in ordinem redigendo cogitare, qui Papismum revexit in Angliam et author fuit Hispanici matrimonii, quo magis papismus in regno stabiliretur". Tremellius runs through the other small details he has, before promising to write again, as soon as he hears anything more of significance.

Despite its generally matter-of-fact nature, this letter is valuable for a variety of reasons. It demonstrates that this was neither the relationship between a patron and client, nor

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95 Tremellius to Camerarius, 11 December 1558, ZbZ MS S 93, 154

between collaborators on some greater project. Rather, Camerarius was simply a correspondent, and, one imagines, a friend, of Tremellius. As such, they were surely two parts of a broader circle of like-minded moderates who kept in regular touch and provided mutual encouragement. The dissemination of news was clearly important, and perhaps because of his wide range of contacts, Tremellius was especially well-placed for such a service. Moreover, as this was a personal letter, the pleasure at the death of Mary and the accession of Elizabeth may be taken as a fairly accurate indication of his personal attitudes. Particularly because his correspondent was Camerarius, another moderate, there was less need for Tremellius to couch his comments in overly confessional terms, if he did not genuinely believe what he was saying.

His relationship with Camerarius was typical of a wider trend within academic circles of the period. By their very nature, of course, such thinkers were less inclined to commit their ideas to print, with the result that their presence is difficult to reconstruct. Nonetheless, the significance of this network of moderate-minded academics should not be underestimated. Inevitably, the more outspoken scholars of the age have drawn the greatest proportion of both contemporary and historical attention, but there was an equally important 'silent majority'. Though they may well often have had strong personal opinions, they were, by training and experience, inclined to allow others their own freedom of thought, revealing an attitude that was, in many ways, surprisingly modern.

Confessional Friendships

Almost inevitably, the religious developments of the sixteenth century also came to shape the forming of friendships during this period. In relation to Tremellius, there are two fields where this is especially evident. The first relates to Tremellius' diplomatic activities. We have already considered his legation to Queen Elizabeth of England on behalf of Frederick III, the Elector Palatine, but his earlier involvement in these affairs,

in around 1561, is also revealing. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton (1515-71) and the Earl of Bedford, Francis Russell (1527?-85) were two figures who struck up a friendship with Tremellius at this stage. The career of Throckmorton, who had been knighted by Edward VI in 1547, had faltered under Queen Mary on account of his Protestantism, but on Elizabeth's accession he was made chamberlain of the exchequer and then, in May 1559, he received the even more prestigious position of ambassador to France.[96] Meanwhile, Russell, who had become the second earl of Bedford on his father's death in March 1554-5, became a member of the privy council on the accession of Elizabeth, and took an active part in the religious settlement, including assisting in the drawing up of the new liturgy.[97]

Both were committed Protestants. As ambassador to France, Throckmorton demonstrated considerable sympathy for the Huguenots, and hostility towards the Guises, and advocated such a policy to Elizabeth: according to the DNB, he "never ceased to warn the queen that Europe was maturing a conspiracy to extirpate Protestantism, and that it was her duty to act as the champion of the reformed faith".[98] Reluctantly, and largely as a result of Throckmorton's encouragement, Elizabeth agreed to send an army to assist the French Protestants in October 1562. Bedford on the other hand, who had fled to Geneva during the reign of Queen Mary, was sent on an embassy to Charles IX of France, in January 1560-1, to congratulate him on his accession. He visited Mary Queen of Scots, and tried to get her to agree to adhere to the Treaty of Edinburgh. In June 1561, he unsuccessfully invited Peter Martyr to return to England.

The circumstances in which these two encountered Tremellius also had a confessional aspect to them. There are no fewer than eight letters relating to Tremellius sent or received by one or both of these men in the Foreign Series of the Calendar of State Papers between February and May 1561. Most of these relate very closely to the

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96 Sidney Lee - 'Throckmorton, Sir Nicholas (1515-1571)' in DNB vol.19, pp.810-14
97 William A. J. Archbold - 'Russell, Francis, second Earl of Bedford (1527?-1585)' in DNB vol.17, pp.431-33
98 Lee - 'Throckmorton', p.812

political and diplomatic manoeuvrings which were going on at this time. As they explained in one letter to the Electors and States of the Confession of Augsburg they found Tremellius at the French court, "pleading for the cause of the Gospel in relation to the city of Metz".[99] In a letter to England, written soon after, they suggest that it was their intervention which helped matters advance in that case. In addition, they had a long conversation with him regarding matters which concern both the authors and addressees of the letter, and which they are sure will have the approval of Queen Elizabeth.[100] Their plan involved sending Tremellius to the German princes to encourage them to send envoys who would, in their turn, persuade the French to boycott the third session of the Council of Trent.[101] Bedford and Throckmorton paid Tremellius 100 crowns for his services in this matter.

Early in May, Throckmorton wrote again to England, this time directly to Queen Elizabeth.[102] In it he relates how Tremellius has now returned with letters from the German Princes and instructions for the French King and the King of Navarre. According to Tremellius, the gist of these instructions is that they seek to dissuade the Kings from accepting the General Council on the terms originally proposed, or from sending their clergy to it, but that the German Princes "will be ready to assist the King with all their best means in advancing religion". At this point, Throckmorton moves on to seek employment on Tremellius' behalf, admitting that he has been enjoined by Tremellius himself to do so. He begins by recounting that Tremellius had lectured at Cambridge under Edward VI, before mentioning the lost stipend and prebend.

Throckmorton goes on: "He is very desirous to do the Queen service, and is a very meet man for the same in Almain (i.e. Germany), where he is both well credited and acquainted, being of that nation, and also entertained by the Palsgrave. He is a sober,

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[99] Earl of Bedford to the Electors and States of the Confession of Augsburg, 22 Feb. 1560/1, CSP-Foreign (1560-1), No.1020 and No.1021, p561

[100] Earl of Bedford to the Electors and States of the Confession of Augsburg, 22 Feb. 1560/1, CSP-Foreign (1560-1), No.1020 and No.1021, p561

[101] "Instructions for Tremellius", 22 Feb. 1560/1, CSP-Foreign (1560-1), No.1022, p.561

[102] Nicholas Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, 9 May 1561, CSP-Foreign (1560-1), No.189, p.106

wise man, and for his skill in many tongues much to be made of". In a second letter, written on the same day, to Cecil, Throckmorton again praises Tremellius, saying that he "thinks that [Tremellius] is a very necessary minister for the Queen, wise, honest and sincere, besides that he is well learned in the tongues, and has many of their neighbours' languages very familiar".[103] He goes on to say that although she has Mont already in Germany, she "shall receive no small increase of service". Moreover, he concludes, if Elizabeth were to make up the various losses which Tremellius had incurred during the reign of Mary, it would bring her honour.

Although nothing seems to have come as a result of either the work that Tremellius did in these diplomatic negotiations, nor of Throckmorton's recommendation of him, Tremellius was not forgetful either of Throckmorton's kindnesses to him, nor of the Earl of Bedford's. As we have already seen in the first chapter, in 1561 Tremellius received an invitation to Heidelberg where he became a professor of theology. Among his earliest activities in Heidelberg were the publication of two works which were actually more the product of his stay in England (as is further evidenced by the fact that the dedications are dated 17 and 18 September respectively). These were an edition of Bucer's lectures on Ephesians, which he delivered in Cambridge, and a second smaller work which more specifically dealt with Bucer's exposition of the sacred ministry; both have been discussed above in relation to Bucer himself.

The first of these was dedicated to Throckmorton, and the second to Bedford. Of course, there is the possibility that this was part of a wider campaign by Tremellius to enhance his employment prospects, in keeping with his request that Throckmorton in particular promote his cause at the English court. At the same time, there is more here than in other instances to suggest that these dedications may at least in part reflect gratitude and respect from Tremellius; moreover, the fact that he had now received a

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[103] Nicholas Throckmorton to William Cecil, 9 May 1561, CSP-Foreign (1560-1), No.190, p.107

post of considerable dignity meant that he was no longer in such urgent need of finding alternative employment.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, given that Bucer died during the course of his lectures, Tremellius spends the majority of his dedication praising the theologian whose work he is editing, and explaining the way in which he had a less than complete source to work from (as we have seen above), but towards the end of this, he moves to praise of Throckmorton himself. Tremellius begins by commenting that since the Lord had determined that Bucer should produce this work in England, it seemed most equitable to dedicate the work to someone from England. He goes on to say that Throckmorton's name came to his mind as "most worthy and most suitable" ("dignissimum atque accommodatissimum"), for many reasons, for recommending the book to all members of Christ. He continues:

> For who in England at the time in which these lectures were composed there, exhibited greater zeal for propagating the beneficial doctrine of the Gospel, than you? Who embraced more fully the benevolence of this distinguished doctor? What can I say about your constancy in maintaining a pure confession of faith, which in these wretched times was not able to be broken or destroyed by any very sad calamities or very serious dangers?... you have given a beautiful example of constancy to everyone.[104]

He concludes by commending both his book and himself into Throckmorton's patronage ("patrocinium"), and expressing his good wishes for the Church in England.

Similarly, in his dedication to the Earl of Bedford, Tremellius begins by explaining how necessary the appearance of a book is to explain the sacred ministry of the church, especially at this time, and how valuable and learned are Bucer's comments on this matter. Towards the end of the dedication he turns to address the dedicatee himself, in largely similar terms to the ones he used in regard to Throckmorton. He writes:

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104 Tremellius - Praectiones... in Epistolam.. ad Ephesios, p.4

> Cumque constantia tua, Comes Generosissime, in retinenda pura Evangelii doctrina, turbulentissimi etiam tempore, piorum tibi incredibilem concilaverit laudem, confido, ut, si sub nomine tuo prodeat, multo magis commendetur... Nec dubito excellentiam tuam pro sua pietate & prudentia munus ipsum non à tenuitate donantis, sed a doctrinæ quam continet sublimitate, ab autoris amplitudine, ab Ecclesiae praesenti necessitate, esse æstimaturam.[105]

Especially because of the formulaic nature of dedications, one must avoid making too much of the material contained in these passages, but certain conclusions may still be drawn. The English connection was obviously important to Tremellius, but while English dedicatees may have made such works more palatable for an English audience, they were both published in Germany. It is of course possible that Tremellius had the audiences of both countries is mind. It seems more reasonable to assume that having decided to publish these two works, Tremellius thought of Bedford and Throckmorton both because of their strong adherence to the Protestant faith (Tremellius after all had risen to their attention because of his defence of Protestantism on behalf of Metz, and was then drawn into their plans for sabotaging the Council of Trent) on the one hand, while realising that there would be no harm in having potentially influential figures behind him on the other. In this latter sense, the dedications may be seen within the broader sweep of patronage practices of the time. As a teacher and a writer, the greatest things that Tremellius had to offer were his writings themselves: in dedicating a work to each of these men he was demonstrating his gratitude for past kindnesses, cementing the relationship, and building up credit should he require a favour in the future. The personal nature of recommendations and appointments is clearly the context against which much of this should be understood.

The confessional dimension was also quite clear in the relationships which Tremellius formed with two of the leading figures of the Calvinist movement, namely Theodore Beza and John Calvin, both of whom appreciated his academic, rather than his diplomatic, abilities. Beza, or Théodore de Bèze (1516-1605) had taught Greek at the

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105 Tremellius - Libellus Vere Aureus, p.5

Academy of Lausanne before coming to Geneva in 1557.[106] He served as first rector of the Academy, and then, following Calvin's death in 1564, was elected moderator of the Company of Pastors, a position which he held until 1580. After Calvin's death, Beza became not only the leader of the Genevan church, but also the chief counsellor to the French Reformed churches, in which capacity he made frequent visits to France. Doctrinally, Beza did not seek to be original, preferring to remain faithful to Calvin's teachings, although this did lead him, on occasion, to carry some of his teachings further than Calvin had done himself. Beza was involved in various ecumenical enterprises, including his 1593 pacific treatise on the Lord's Supper, De conciliatione, intended to conciliate the Lutherans.

Tremellius appears in Beza's correspondence on numerous occasions. It is very clear from these various mentions in his correspondence that Beza was well aware of Tremellius, at least from the mid-1550s: Peter Martyr's letter to him was dated November 1554, and there were regular mentions of him thereafter. In one letter written from Lausanne in January 1558 to Calvin in Geneva, he wrote: "De Emanuele, scribit ad te [Jean-Raymond] Merlinus, quicum communicavi quae ex [Antoine de Saussure, seigneur of] Dommartino nostro accepi".[107] Four days later, he wrote a second letter, in which he says that he will add a letter from Chevallier to those from Calvin, in the hope that these would be successful, presumably in persuading Tremellius to come to Geneva to become professor of Hebrew.[108] In a letter written in 1572 to Thomas van Til in Heidelberg, Tremellius is mentioned, along with Olevianus, Boquin and Ursinus, as people to whom Beza sends greetings.[109]

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106 On Beza see B. Vogler – 'Europe as Seen Through the Correspondence of Theodore de Beza' in E. I. Kouri and Tom Scott (Eds.) – Politics and Society in Reformation Europe: Essays for Sir Geoffrey Elton on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday (Basingstoke and London,1987), pp.252-65; Robert M. Kingdon - Geneva and the Consolidation of the French Protestant Movement, 1564-1572 (Madison, Wisconsin, 1978) and H. Aubert, H. Meylan and A. Dufour - Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze (Geneva, 1960-)

107 Beza to Calvin, 18 January 1558, C.O. 130

108 Beza to Calvin, 22 January 1558, C.O. 131

109 Beza to Thomas van Til [Tilius], 5 July 1572, C.O. 928

In another letter, which was probably intended for Petrus Dathenus, written in December 1571, Beza refers to the version of the Bible on which Tremellius was currently working, among a list of books that he asks his correspondent to send him: "...Peto itidem quicquid D. Zanchus noster adversus nostros Antitrinitarios ediderit, et velim etiam rescire num excudantur nostri Tremellii biblia Latine, ut audio, conversa. Gallicam enim versionem Cornelius noster et ego succisivis horis cum Hebraea veritate comparamus; quem laborem spero meis Gallis non inutilem fore".[110] Not only does this indicate that Beza was aware of Tremellius' work some four years before it was actually published, but it also hints at the translation of the Bible into French which Beza and the Hebraist Corneille Bertram would produce in 1588.

In addition, from 1579, we have two letters which Beza exchanged with Peter Young in Edinburgh. In a letter written from Geneva in August of that year, Beza refers to his translation of the Psalms into Latin verse. He says to Young that he would send him copies of it, but that they have been too badly printed, and that it will be necessary to wait for the second edition. Consequently, Beza suggests that George Buchanan correct his Paraphrases of the Psalms by reference to Tremellius' translation, as he thinks he would do himself: "Alteram mox, ut arbitrot, sequuturam editionem spero limatiorem et emendatiorem futuram. Quod si D. Buchano videretur sua recudere, praesertim ad D. Tremellianam interpretationem exacta, quod sum itidem in meis facturus, egregiam sane operam Ecclesiae navaret".[111] It is not known whether Buchanan followed Beza's advice in this regard, but he did continue to work to improve the style of his Paraphrases. Young replied to this letter from Edinburgh in November, and it would certainly seem from this that Buchanan intended to do as Beza had suggested. Young wrote: "D. Buchananus, quem tuo nomine salutavi, te officiosissime resalutat, mittitque ad te Baptistam suam una cum Dialogo de jure regni. Is tuo maxime hortatu, quamvis

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[110] Beza to [Dathenus], 25 December 1571, C.O. 882
[111] Theodore Beza to Peter Young, 26 August 1579, C.deB. 1367

morbis ac senio confectus, recudere Psalmos suos statuit cum primum Tremellianam interpretationem nactus fuerit".[112]

Yet despite these many connections, only one letter between the two is known to have survived, and this dates from very near the end of Tremellius' life. In a letter of October 1579, Tremellius wrote to Beza looking for support from him against various criticisms which had been directed against Tremellius following his involvement in censoring the Talmud.[113] Although the letter is asking for a favour, the manner in which Tremellius addresses Beza certainly hints at a close relationship: "Monsieur, j'ay entendu par vostre letre à Monsieur de Mesieres la bone affection que continués de me porter, respondante fort bien à ce que je me suis touts jours persuadé de vous, dont aussi je vous remercie tres affectueusement et me sents obligé à vous". There is none of the patron/client terminology that we have seen in connection with some of Tremellius' other relationships.

Tremellius immediately turns to the matter that is troubling him. He says that he has now heard three or four complaints about his work on the Talmud, and now wishes that he had not become involved in the first place. He claims both innocence and ignorance against various charges, before explaining how the printer, Johann Froben, had enlisted his services when he had passed through Heidelberg at the time of the Frankfurt book fair. Tremellius had only edited a couple of the books, and written a short preface, but these had not been published. In his defence he claims that the work would have appealed neither to Catholics, an alternative version of the Talmud having been approved by the Council of Trent, nor to Jews. He discusses these matters in further detail before asking Beza to communicate with whomever has been offended by it to explain the full story, and to eliminate any such offence. The fact that Tremellius regarded Beza as someone who could resolve this matter, and save his reputation, must in part reflect the latter's position as effective head of the Reformed church; at the same

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112 Peter Young to Theodore Beza, 13 November 1579, C.deB. 1385
113 Tremellius to Beza, September/ October 1579, C.O. 1373

time, and especially given the very personal tones in which the letter is couched, as well as the academic subject matter, it also sheds light on the nature of their relationship.

Tremellius' relationship with Beza was an interesting one. Both were biblical scholars, although they differed in their language of particular expertise. Although he was six years older than the Frenchman, Tremellius evidently felt he could call upon Beza to assist him when he was in trouble, but he did so as a friend and a fellow academic, rather than as a client. Beza, for his part, was particularly interested in Tremellius' abilities as a Hebraist. He was keen to get hold of his translation of the Bible as early as possible, and then, as we saw in his letter to Young, would go on to recommend the work to Buchanan as well. As will be discussed in the chapter on the New Testament, Beza did take account of Tremellius' work in his own biblical scholarship. Moreover, their respective translations of different parts of the Bible were subsequently put together, in later editions. The mutual respect, even given subtle differences of opinion, is apparent throughout their relationship.

Similar, in many ways, was the relationship which Tremellius enjoyed with John Calvin (1509-64).[114] As is well known, Calvin had fled France in 1534, and soon after published his first theological work, Christianae Religionis Institutio, a compendium of the evangelical faith in 1536. He was soon drawn to Geneva, where, with the exception of a short exile to Strasbourg between 1538 and 1541, he would spend the remainder of his life.[115] During that period, Geneva developed into the centre of the reformed faith; the academy which he established there in 1559 was intended to produce highly-trained pastors who could spread the faith across Europe.[116]

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[114] On Calvin, see T. H. L. Parker - John Calvin, A Biography (London, 1975), William J. Bouwsma - John Calvin: A Sixteenth-Century Portrait (Oxford, 1988), Alister E. McGrath - A Life of John Calvin: A Study in the Shaping of Western Culture (Oxford, 1990) and the various articles in Richard C. Gamble (Ed.) - Articles on Calvin and Calvinism, Vol.1: The Biography of Calvin (New York and London, 1992)

[115] On this episode, see Cornelis Augustijn - 'Calvin in Strasbourg' in Wilhelm H. Neuser (Ed.) - Calvinus Sacrae Scripturae Professor, Calvin as Confessor of Holy Scripture (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1994), pp.166-77

[116] See Robert M. Kingdon - Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France, 1555-1563 (Geneva, 1956) and Karin Maag - Seminary or University? The Genevan Academy and Reformed Higher Education, 1560-1620 (Aldershot, 1995)

Tremellius appears frequently in connection with Calvin. As we have already seen, the latter was often the most outspoken voice in favour of the Hebraist. For instance, in a letter to Farel, Viret wrote: "Saepius iam hoc idem quod abs te petit Emanuel a me per literas et per alios petiit, praesertim per Calvinum".[117] In addition, there were five letters specifically exchanged between the two of them. The first of these was written by Tremellius from Cambridge in March 1551. In it, Tremellius offers a work - not mentioned by name, but presumably his translation of Calvin's catechism - to Calvin: "Quam propenso animo meam operam tibi, venerande pater, per Rob. Stephanum obtuli, tam diligenti studio eam, quantum per munus meum vacabit, exhibere advigilabo. Ac utinam Dominus sancti propositi optatum utrique finem concedat." As he then goes on to say, he would gladly receive any comments that Calvin has to make because he hopes that the work will be useful for other Jews. "Cui sane meum studium eo libentius impendo quod spes est aliquem ex eo fructum ad meam quoque gentem proventurum. Punctorum adscriptionem et quidquid praeterea diligentiae mihi imposueritis cupide recipio. De rebus omnibus plures esse scio qui ad te perscribant".[118] He closes by exchanging salutations with the people in Geneva; it is clear from this part that other letters had, in fact, already been exchanged.

Tremellius then sent Calvin two letters in the summer of 1554. Tremellius had not been back on the continent long, and was looking for employment. His first letter was written from Berne, where he had been well received, not least because of Calvin's commendation of him. He begins by referring to a letter, already discussed, which Musculus had sent the previous day. He goes on: "Id modo de ipsius caritate et studio adieci: omnia ea prudentia et fide effecisse ut non potuerit maiore. Ex quo facile intelliges commendationem tuam tantum apud eum valuisse quantum tua merito apud omnes vere pios valere debet autoritas...". Towards the end of the letter, in a passage which we have already quoted, Tremellius expresses the gratitude which both

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117 Pierre Viret to Guillaume Farel, 24 November 1547, C.O. 969
118 Tremellius to John Calvin, 27 February 1551, C.O. 1452

Tremellius and Chevallier felt at receiving Calvin's support and patronage: "Gener meus te plurimum salutat et maximas mecum agit gratias quod tuo etiam patrocinio imprimis adiutus statum aliquem obtinuerit".[119]

From Lausanne Tremellius then wrote another letter to Calvin in September.[120] He begins by saying that he would have been prepared to remain in Berne had God wanted it, but that he has now come to Lausanne instead. He writes: "Cur noluerit [i.e. Tremellius to remain in Berne], longius non inquiro quam praefinit certa de providentia eius erga me fides". This, incidentally, is perhaps the closest Tremellius gets to embracing an explicit Calvinism in his personal writings. He goes on: "Scio enim id mihi utilissimum et honestissimum esse quod de me benignissimus pater statuit". He then continues by saying that the people in Lausanne are all doing their best to keep him there, and that Viret and Beza have been instructed to refer his position to the rulers. He expects a decision shortly and promises to inform Calvin as soon as he learns anything. As we have seen, of course, they were unsuccessful in this. He apologises for writing as this interrupts Calvin from his holy work, but he does have a favour to ask in relation to his wife: "sed uxor mea ecclesiam vestram invisebat, quae te pastorem et antiquum hospitem insalutatum praeterire nec potest nec debet". Why she should be going to Geneva is unclear, but it is telling that Tremellius should approach Calvin directly for her protection. He concludes the letter by passing on greetings from Chevallier ('Antonius meus').

In August 1558, Calvin wrote to Tremellius, in relation to the chair of Hebrew at the Genevan academy.[121] He says that he has heard that an academy had been founded in Hornbach, and that while no mention had been made of Tremellius in that regard, the fact that a successor for him as tutor to the children of the duke of Zweibrücken was now being sought had led Calvin to conclude that Tremellius was to serve as a professor

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119 Tremellius to John Calvin, 14 June 1554, C.O.1971
120 Tremellius to John Calvin, 8 September 1554, C.O. 2008
121 John Calvin to Tremellius, 29 August 1558, C.O. 2944

there. He then expresses his regret that he was not earlier able to offer the position in Geneva, and that Tremellius is now unable to fill it: "Si tibi spem rei dubiae, quae nunc certa est, facere ausus essem, fortasse placuisset conditio. Sed tunc nihil promittere nisi inconsiderate potui. Nunc dolet tamen ac poenitet quod non ad temeritatem usque progressus fuerim". He goes on to say that he has finally persuaded the senate to allow for the appointment of professors of three languages, albeit only with modest salaries. With additional benefits, they may at least have come close to those offered in Germany. He returns to his main theme of regret: "Impedit huius iacturae dolor ne tibi in solidum gratuler quod istic adeptus es. Quod si adhuc tibi integrum esset ad nos venire, longe uberior laborum tuorum fructus ad ecclesiam perveniret". The effusive terms by which Calvin bids farewell to Tremellius suggest that his loss was personal as well as academic: "Vale, ornatissime vir et mihi ex animo colende frater. Amici tibi plurimam salutem precantur. Dominus te et uxorem semper tueatur, gubernet, benedicat".

Finally, Calvin sent a letter to Tremellius in October 1562.[122] Calvin begins by apologising for the delay in replying to his previous letters, and hopes that Tremellius does not attribute this to laziness. Calvin goes on to express his gratitude for Tremellius' edition of Bucer's lectures on Ephesians which had been published earlier in the year: "Nondum etiam de commentario D. Buceri egi gratias: unde colligere tibi melius licebit, me non contemtu eiusmodi officia praetermittere". He then moves on to discuss Tremellius' commentary on Hosea which would be published in Geneva in the following year. "Nuper quum a senatu pro more petitum esset, ut tuos in Hoseam commentarios excudi permitteret, delata nobis fuit cognitio... Liber itaque Antonio nostro redditus est, ut qua posset maxima dexteritate curaret imprimendum. Utinam ad alios etiam Prophetas explicandos adiiceres. Interea dignus fuit Hoseas a quo faceres exordium." The evidence of these letters demonstrates the high regard in which Tremellius was held by Calvin. In particular, his attraction seems to have centred

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[122] John Calvin to Tremellius, 27 October 1562, C.O. 3870

around two main ideas: the value that would come from having him as a teacher in the academy in Geneva, and the various writings that he would produce. Whether a product of that high regard, or something else, it is also evident that the way he speaks to Tremellius is quite personal and warm. This is seen especially in relation to Tremellius' wife, and also, to a lesser extent, his son-in-law, with whom, of course, Calvin had a separate professional relationship as well.

Conclusion

That Tremellius should be viewed in these ways by someone of the stature of Calvin is in itself striking, but as this chapter has indicated, with reference to many figures at a range of different levels, Calvin was far from being alone on this matter. Tremellius was well-known across Europe, with connections in many different parts of the continent. Moreover, it is clear that he was almost universally well-regarded. With the exception of the problems which arose shortly before his death when he started to work with the Talmud, there is no real evidence of criticism of him. At most there is a more general suspicion of him as an Italian and a Jewish convert. The many recommendations he carried with him, and the impact he made in person, however, seem to have done much to negate such preconceptions. The skills which Tremellius possessed made him a highly desirable commodity in Europe at this time. Consequently, it is apparent that historians have been wrong to consider him a marginal figure. His contribution to the age has generally been overlooked in the intervening centuries, but his contemporaries valued him for what he was. In order fully to understand the sixteenth century, it is important to approach it on its own terms, rather than through the lens of current vogues in historical writing. Tremellius' life was devoted to scholarship, rather than to religious polemic. His activities may not necessarily be those which are regarded as the most dynamic or controversial, but they were integral to the preconceptions of the day, and must therefore be treated as such.

For this reason, the remaining chapters will look at his role as a teacher, and his most important writings, his editions of the two testaments of the Bible.

However, this chapter has implications which extend beyond Tremellius' personal experiences. The evidence from his career once again illustrates the importance of the notion of friendship in the sixteenth century. As Peter Burke has recently noted, the study of friendship in the early modern period has been slow to develop.[123] His article focuses on what he describes as 'private friendships', namely those disinterested and equal relationships between unrelated individuals, most closely equating to the modern notion of friendship. At the same time, however, he accepts that there could often be tension between the political and personal elements of relationships.

The complexity of the situation is certainly borne out by the evidence presented in this chapter. Immanuel Tremellius did not operate in a vacuum. Throughout his career, he was dependent on the assistance of a wide variety of people. They provided emotional and material support, and assisted with the advancement of his career. They did so, moreover, for a variety of reasons. Some, like Pole, Peter Martyr, and Parker formed close personal bonds with him. They provided services for Tremellius out of friendship, and with no expectation of reciprocation. Beyond that, however, there was a spectrum of varying levels of intimacy. Tremellius corresponded with numerous individuals across Europe, and dedicated his works to a further set of people. Age and seniority were significant factors. Older figures and those with positions of authority were better placed to help others; conversely, younger scholars would seek the patronage of such figures, for protection, and the potential of future advancement. In many cases, however, especially between people who belonged to the same generation, there was no obvious patron or client. Rather it was a relationship between two equals. Membership in the international community of scholars undoubtedly contributed to the formation of some of these friendships. There were relatively few academics and professors at the

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123 Peter Burke - 'Humanism and Friendship in Sixteenth-Century Europe' in Julian Haseldine (Ed.) - Friendship in Medieval Europe (Stroud, 1999), p. 262

time, and the mutual support which they could provide, as well as the exchange of ideas, was carried out across the continent.

The Reformation, of course, complicated matters still further. Theoretically at least, it imposed restrictions on the connections which people were able to make. Against this, however, the adherence to a shared faith helped to strengthen existing bonds, while providing a new reason for others to be formed. In any case, the more moderate-minded humanists, among whom Tremellius may certainly be counted, would have felt rather less obliged to maintain these confessional distinctions. As we saw in Chapter two, Tremellius emerged from Italy with a moderate attitude in religious matters. Moreover, while it may have made most sense for him to become a Calvinist, it is unlikely that such a term exactly encapsulates his faith; Calvinism may simply have been the branch of Christianity which most closely corresponded to his religious beliefs. Regardless of the exact nature of his faith, this was a situation which Tremellius exploited expertly. Despite the various prejudices with which he would automatically have been viewed, and in a Europe being driven apart on religious grounds, he managed to build up a highly successful career which took him to Universities in several different countries. The various friendships and alliances which he formed as he did so had a cumulative effect, and sustained him over a period of forty years in exile.

Chapter Four: Teacher

While much of the respect accorded to Immanuel Tremellius has been derived from his written legacy, and especially his Bible editions, of far greater importance during his lifetime were his activities as a teacher. As we saw in Chapter one, except for a few, short, interruptions, Tremellius taught throughout a period of almost forty years in numerous locations across Europe. Yet although this was the means by which he both supported himself, and indeed rose to international prominence, his biographers have generally given this area at best scant attention.[1] Admittedly, the surviving documentary materials are not as complete as one would wish, but this is not a situation unique to Tremellius. There are very few figures from the sixteenth century, even of the highest profile, whose teaching can be fully reconstructed. Nonetheless, this should not put one off exploring what can be said about this critical subject.

In earlier generations, studies of education, and especially university education, took a rather dry approach. Ordinarily, scholars would provide histories of the university at which they themselves were teaching, from its inception through to the time of writing.[2] Changes in personnel would be mentioned, as would the subjects which the different teachers taught. The rare references to the curriculum tended to focus on the changes indicated in the new statutes which appeared periodically.[3] One might even occasionally learn some of the materials which were used, but the focus remained

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[1] Becker, pp.27-9 deals with Tremellius' role as teacher of the children of the Duke of Zweibrücken, but beyond that, both he and Butters make only passing reference to his teaching duties.

[2] See, as typical of this trend, Johann Freidrich Hautz - Geschichte der Universität Heidelberg (2 vols., Mannheim, 1864) and Charles Borgeaud - Histoire de l'université de Genève: L'Académie de Calvin 1559-1798 (Geneva, 1900)

[3] See below for a discussion of the statutes of Heidelberg University of 1575.

primarily institutional, not least because of the sort of sources on which such histories were based. The works produced were generally comprehensive, but lacking in detail, and conveyed little sense of what it was like to receive instruction in such institutions over the centuries.

Much more recently, Maag has offered a useful corrective to this approach. In her Seminary or University?, she has used matriculation records and archival sources to investigate the students, rather than the professors, of the Genevan Academy, and to compare them with those at other leading places of advanced learning of the sixteenth century.[4] Indeed, it is Maag's express aim to focus attention more towards "the human element in higher education, and less towards the purely institutional aspect of the various academies and universities under scrutiny".[5] Even so, the cultural dimension of university education is only briefly touched upon. This is a subject which is addressed by many of the contributors to the volume on the early modern period, edited by Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, in the four-volume series on the history of universities co-ordinated by Walter Rüegg.[6] However, most concede that scholarship in their respective fields remains to be fully developed. For example, Laurence Brockliss, begins his chapter on university curricula by remarking: "The study of the curriculum of the early modern university is still in its infancy."[7] Perhaps surprisingly, given its central role in so many of the most controversial issues of the day, the study of theology, in particular, has received little attention.[8]

Since 1980 or so, historians have therefore begun to look at rather more anecdotal materials, including the teaching manuals published by the more popular teachers, and

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[4] Karin Maag - Seminary or University? The Genevan Academy and Calvinist Higher Education (Aldershot, 1995)
[5] Karin Maag - Geneva as a Centre of Calvinist Higher Education 1559-1620 (unpublished PhD thesis, University of St. Andrews, 1993), p.4
[6] Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Ed.) - A History of the University in Europe, vol.II: Universties in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800) (Cambridge, 1996, 1997)
[7] Laurence Brockliss - 'Curricula' in Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Ed.) - Universities in Early Modern Europe, p.563
[8] Ibid. - 'Curricula', p.564

the notes made by students in the course of their studies.[9] For, as Brockliss comments, "as present-day historians of the early modern university curriculum have realized, the only sure way to recover the classroom reality is to reconstruct the professorial cursus".[10] It is the intention of this chapter to draw together the available sources from the career of Tremellius to build up an impression of his teaching experience. This will have significant implications for our understanding of university instruction at this time, as well as shedding further light on why Tremellius was valued so highly by his contemporaries.

In fact, it will make sense to begin with a consideration of the factors surrounding the employment of Tremellius, a converted Jew, as a teacher in a Christian context. Jews and converted Jews possessed essential skills and knowledge for the proper study of the Scriptures, but in an anti-Semitic age, their position was increasingly problematic. Secondly, this chapter will look at the content of Tremellius' teaching. Certain materials have survived which give insights into the teaching which he offered both as tutor to the children of the Duke of Zweibrücken, and as professor at Heidelberg University. From the latter, which is most likely typical of his teaching at university level as a whole, one can also draw certain conclusions about the relationship between Tremellius' lecturing and his biblical translations. In addition, this section will look at Tremellius' pedagogic works. In this regard, his work as a translator helped to make available works which bridged the divide between Christianity and Judaism, while his Syriac grammar was obviously intended for use by students and scholars.

Finally, this chapter will address the question of whom Tremellius taught. A full consideration of this subject is beyond the scope of this study, but it is still possible to identify some of the most significant figures with whom Tremellius may be associated and also to open up certain lines of influence for future research. The matriculation records of Cambridge and Heidelberg, in particular, allow one to identify those

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[9] Ibid., p.564
[10] Ibid., p.563

individuals who would most likely have received instruction from Tremellius. More importantly still, this will allow one to draw certain conclusions as to what use Tremellius' students put the knowledge and skills which they had acquired from him, and thereby to gauge his impact in the classroom and beyond.

Jews as Teachers of Hebrew

Various reasons may be advanced as to why Christians involved themselves in the study of Hebrew and Hebraic literature. Christian-Jewish relations accounted for at least two of these. Many Christian apologists understood that they would be better able to engage in disputations with Jewish controversialists if they had a developed understanding of Jewish customs and practices, and were able to understand the original Hebrew of the biblical text, not to mention the Judaic interpretation of this, especially when it ran counter to Christian teachings.[11] Conversely, such knowledge would allow them to use citations from the Hebrew Bible to support their own views.[12] Closely connected to this was the realisation that a solid knowledge of Hebrew would increase the chances of converting Jews to Christianity: works written in Hebrew, and arguments directed at a specifically Jewish audience, could be produced. In 1311, the Council of Vienne decreed that schools for the study of Oriental languages should be established at the universities of Europe expressly for this reason.[13] In addition, there was a continuing Christian interest in the Cabbala, mystical Jewish writings which claimed to contain the secret meaning of the Old Testament: Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and Johann

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11 See for instance Stephen G. Burnett - 'Distorted Mirrors: Antonius Margaritha, Johann Buxtorf and Christian Ethnographies of the Jews' in SCJ 25 (1994), pp.275-87 and Ibid. - 'Calvin's Jewish Interlocutor: Christian Hebraism and Jewish Polemics during the Reformation' in BHR 55 (1993), pp.113-23

12 Jerome Friedman - The Most Ancient Testimony. Sixteenth-Century Christian-Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia (Athens, Ohio, 1983), pp.212-54. Also see the differing interpretations of one work by Sebastian Münster contained in Jerome Friedman - 'Sebastian Münster, the Jewish Mission, and Protestant Anti-Semitism' in ARG 70 (1979), pp.238-59, Stephen G. Burnett - 'A Dialogue of the Deaf: Hebrew Pedagogy and Anti-Jewish Polemic in Sebastian Münster's Messiahs of the Christians and the Jews (1529/39)' in ARG 91(2000), pp.168-90

13 Newman - Jewish Influence, p.25

Reuchlin were among the most famous individuals interested in this area during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but they were by no means the first.[14] Especially in Elizabethan England, moreover, the widespread interest in apocalyptic ideas encouraged an interest in the Hebraic tradition.[15] Also, during the Reformation period, as will be discussed more fully below, a knowledge of both Greek and Hebrew was increasingly seen as part of the necessary equipment for disputations between Catholics and Protestants.

However, it is the value of the Jewish contribution to biblical study that was of primary relevance in relation to Tremellius' activities. Scholars who wished to study the foundations of Christian literature, namely the Hebrew Scriptures, and their influence on the Gospels, realised that they needed to know Hebrew. This value had long been understood. The Church Fathers were aware of Jewish religious texts, and indeed often worked with Jews. Origen, who may himself have been of Jewish descent, although apparently not very proficient at Hebrew himself, seems to have fully appreciated the value of contemporary Jewish teachings, and Jewish exegetical practices.[16] Jerome, the leading scholar among the Church Fathers, learned from many Jewish teachers, and included contributions from them in his various writings, the most important of which was his translation of the Bible, which came to be known as the Vulgate.[17] Of considerable significance was his insistence that the Old Testament should be translated into Latin from what he called the 'Hebraica Veritas'.[18]

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[14] On this subject see for instance Jones - Discovery of Hebrew, Chapter 1 - 'Two Christian Kabbalists', which deals with Pico and Reuchlin. On Pico, see Ernst Cassirer, Paul Oskar Kristeller and John Herman Randall (Eds.) - The Renaissance Philosophy of Man (Chicago and London, 1948), pp.215-56, especially pp. 216, 237, 251-2. On Reuchlin, see Friedman - The Most Ancient Testimony, pp.71-98. More generally, see Joseph L. Blau - The Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in the Renaissance (New York, 1944) and F. Secret - Les Kabbalistes Chrétiens de la Renaissance (Paris, 1964)

[15] See Jones - Discovery of Hebrew, pp.163-8 and Richard Bauckham - Tudor Apocalypse. Sixteenth century apocalypticism, millenarianism and the English Reformation: from John Bale to John Foxe and Thomas Brightman (Oxford, 1978)

[16] Newman - Jewish Influence, p.28; William McKane - Selected Christian Hebraists (Cambridge, 1989), pp.22-31

[17] Newman - Jewish Influence, p.30; McKane - Selected Christian Hebraists, pp.31-41. See also James Barr - 'St. Jerome's Appreciation of Hebrew' in Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 49 (1966-67), pp.281-302

[18] McKane - Selected Christian Hebraists, p.31

The position of the Vulgate only came to be seriously challenged in the fifteenth century, when individuals started to hope that the church could be purged of its abuses by encouraging the serious study of Scripture in its original languages.[19] The original impetus given to Christian-Hebraic studies by humanistic scholars of the Renaissance was further reinforced by the Reformation: the Protestant promotion of the principle of sola scriptura gave an added importance to the authority of the biblical text.[20] This came to be expressed in a variety of ways. The Old Testament was retranslated, the New Testament was reinterpreted in the light of this new understanding, and certain historically-central doctrines of the Christian faith came to be re-examined. The significance of the rabbinic contribution to biblical study also became increasingly apparent.

Especially during the sixteenth century, various works, including grammars and textbooks, were produced which enabled Christians to study the Bible and Jewish literature independently. Before this time, however, it was necessary to turn to Jewish teachers for assistance. For, as one writer of the nineteenth century put it:

> In the Middle Ages, as in antiquity, knowledge of Hebrew remained in the exclusive possession of the Jews. Everywhere and always when a Christian wished to learn Hebrew, he was compelled to commence by becoming a disciple of the Rabbis... By long frequentation with a Jew, a Greek or an Arab, one was able to acquire a certain acquaintance with their respective languages, but before adventuring on the translation of a text, the Christian was always compelled to have it explained to him by someone to whom the tongue was native.[21]

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[19] See for instance Jerry H. Bentley - 'Biblical Philology and Christian Humanism: Lorenzo Valla and Erasmus as Scholars of the Gospels' in SCJ 8,2 (1977), pp.9-28 and Ibid. - Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance (Princeton, New Jersey, 1983). Also helpful are Alastair Hamilton - 'Humanists and the Bible' in Jill Kraye (Ed.) - The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism (Cambridge, 1996), pp.100-17 and Albert Rabil Jr. - 'Erasmus' 'Paraphrases of the New Testament' in Richard L. DeMolen (Ed.) - Essays on the Works of Erasmus (New Haven and London, 1978), pp.145-61

[20] James D. Tracy - Europe's Reformations 1450-1650 (Lanham, Boulder, New York, Oxford, 1999), pp.13-15

[21] J. Soury - Des Études hébraïques et exegétiques au moyen âge chez les chrétiens d'Occident (Paris, 1867), p.14, quoted in Newman - Jewish Influence, p.26

Consequently, in the centuries prior to the Reformation, Hebrew scholarship was necessarily confined to a relatively small number of individuals and groups: Friedman suggests that in the period between 500 and 1500, "probably no more than a few dozen" Christians could read Hebrew at all, and of those only a quarter could use the language constructively.[22] At the same time, however, as Newman has shown in his monumental study Jewish Influence on Christian Reform Movements, in which he devotes over 400 pages to a description of medieval Christian students of Hebrew, this tradition should not be underestimated.[23]

Jewish teachers played a crucial part in the Christian study of Hebrew during the middle ages, and this trend was continued into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[24] Pico della Mirandola learned Hebrew from Elias del Medigo and the Cabbala from another Jew, Johann Aleman.[25] Luther regularly sought the advice of Jewish students and Rabbis; Jews paid visits to his home to discuss with him difficult passages of the Bible; especially for the revision of his translation, Luther called in learned Jews to his aid. Johann Reuchlin received assistance from both Obadiah Sforno, a famous Jewish exegete, in Rome, and Jacob ben Jechiel Loans, the Jewish physician to Emperor Frederick III. Sebastian Münster learned Hebrew from the grammarian Elias Levita, who also taught, among others, Johann Eck, and Cardinal Egidio of Viterbo, the General of the Augustinians. Michael Servetus most likely learned Hebrew from Spanish Marranos. Furthermore, as we saw in Chapter two, before his encounter with Tremellius, Peter Martyr had begun to learn Hebrew under the instruction of a Jew.[26]

Also significant for the Christian study of Hebraica were Jewish apostates. Although they were religious opponents, Ulrich Zwingli and Johannes Eck both learnt their

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[22] Friedman - Most Ancient Testimony, p.14
[23] Newman - Jewish Influence, pp.27-430. On this field also see Jones - Discovery of Hebrew, pp.7-14, and R. Loewe - 'Christian Hebraists (1100-1890)' in Encyclopaedia Judaica, vol.8, pp.10-71
[24] Many of the examples in this paragraph are drawn from Newman - Jewish Influence, p.622 ff.
[25] D. de Sola Pool - 'The Influence of Some Jewish Apostates on the Reformation' in Jewish Review, vol.2 (No.7-12) p.335
[26] Newman - Jewish Influence, p.505

Hebrew from Johannes Boeschenstein, who may well have been of Jewish parentage, although it is difficult to prove this conclusively; he spent his adult life denying that he was Jewish.[27] Matthew Adrian, another apostate Jew, was elected professor of Hebrew at the trilingual college of Louvain in July 1518;[28] indeed, his success in promoting the study of Hebrew served as a model for other European universities.[29] In April 1520, Luther managed to persuade the University of Wittenberg to hire Adrian as its first professor of Hebrew.[30] Among his students there were the renowned Christian Hebraists, Conrad Pellican and Wolfgang Capito.[31] Despite the possible implications of his name, there seem no real grounds for claiming that Leo Jud (or Judah) was of Jewish extraction; indeed, he seems not to have used his family name in order to avoid such assumptions.[32] On the other hand, in the preparation of his Latin Bible, Jud was helped by a certain Michael Adam, a converted Jew who had found his way to Zürich.[33] In addition, Philip Ferdinand, a Polish Jew, born in about 1555, taught Hebrew first at Oxford and then, from 1596, at Cambridge.[34]

Yet all of this needs to be considered against a background of deep anti-Semitism. From approximately 1000 AD, relations between Christians and Jews had become increasingly characterised by tension and even violence.[35] The Crusades brought with them the slaughter of more than 100,000 Jews, and those who remained were increasingly subject to repressive legislation.[36] From the thirteenth century onwards, the Jewish populations of Europe were driven into exile: from England in 1290, France in 1315 and 1394, Austria in 1421, and Spain in 1492.[37] As Friedman remarks: "The

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27 Newman - Jewish Influence, pp.464-5 & 471. See also Friedman - Most Ancient Testimony, p.16
28 Jones - Discovery of Hebrew, p.181
29 Ibid., p.99
30 G. Lloyd Jones - Introduction to Robert Wakefield - On The Three Languages [1524] Edited and translated with introduction and notes (New York, 1989), p.28
31 Pool - 'Influence of Some Jewish Apostates', p.337. On Pellican, see Christoph Zurcher - Konrad Pellikans Wirken in Zürich 1526-1556 (Zürich, 1975); on Capito, see James M. Kittelson - Wolfgang Capito. From Humanist to Reformer (Leiden, 1975).
32 Newman - Jewish Influence, pp.507-8
33 Ibid., p.508
34 H. P. Stokes - Studies in Anglo-Jewish History (Edinburgh, 1913), p.209 ff.
35 Friedman - Most Ancient Testimony, p.16 ff.
36 Ibid., p.17
37 Ibid., p.17

elimination and isolation of Jews had the desired effect: the year 1500 saw fewer Jews in western and central Europe than at any point in the previous 1000 years."[38] Despite their wide-ranging contribution to the culture, especially in Italy, of the Renaissance, such sentiments towards Jews perpetuated into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[39] Robert Bonfil has been one of many to highlight "the contradictory nature of Christian attitudes toward the Jews", whom he describes as 'aliens within'.[40] He further contends that the fact that anti-Semitism was not eliminated even when the presence of Jews was, suggests that Christians considered Jews and Judaism as a necessary element in their effort to define their own cultural and religious identity.[41] At the same time, however, interaction between Christians and Jews, and the possibility that this might encourage conversion, troubled the authorities greatly.[42]

The implications of these attitudes were doubly ambiguous when it came to the value of Hebrew scholarship. During the Reformation, Hebrew learning was considered a sign of enlightenment, amongst both Protestants and Catholics.[43] As we have already considered above, there were several valuable advantages to be gained through the possession of these skills. At the same time, however, the study of Hebrew was regarded by many as a decline into Judaistic heresy.[44] Indeed, as Oberman has argued,

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38 Friedman - Most Ancient Testimony, p.18

39 See Moses A. Shulvass - The Jews in the World of the Renaissance (Leiden, 1973), Steven Rowan - 'Luther, Bucer and Eck on the Jews' in SCJ 16 (1985), pp.79-90, Jerome Friedman - 'Sebastian Münster, the Jewish Mission, and Protestant Anti-Semitism' in ARG 70 (1979), pp.238-59 and Achim Detmers - '"Sie nennen unseren Retter Christus einen Hurensohn und die göttlicher Jungfrau eine Dirne". Heinrich Bullinger Gutachten zur Duldung von Juden 1572' in Alfred Schindler and Hans Stickelberger (Eds.) - Due Zürcher Reformation: Ausstrahlungen und Rückwirkungen, Wissenschaftliche Tagung zum hundertjährigen Bestehen des Zwinglivereins (29 Oktober bis 2 November 1997 in Zürich) (Berne, 2001), pp.229-59

40 Robert Bonfil - 'Aliens Within: The Jews and Antijudaism' in Thomas A. Brady Jr, Heiko A. Oberman and James D. Tracy (Eds.) - Handbook of European History 1400-1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation, Vol.1: Structures and Assertions (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1994), pp.263-302, here at p.263

41 Ibid., p.265

42 See for instance Brian Pullan - The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice 1550-1670 (London, New York, 1983, 1997). Also see the articles by Stephen Haliczer and Nicolas Davidson on the Inquisition and converted Jews of Spain and Portugal, and the Inquisition and Italian Jews, respectively in Stephen Haliczer (Ed.) - Inquisition and Society in Early Modern Europe (London and Sydney, 1987) For one form of response, also drawn from the Italian environment, see David B. Ruderman (Ed.) - Preachers of the Italian Ghetto (Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford, 1992)

43 Newman - Jewish Influence, p.23

44 Ibid., p.10

the rediscovery of Hebrew studies in the early modern period, far from acting as a counter to anti-Semitism, reinforced old attitudes towards the Jews and actually contributed to the growth of negative stereotypes during the Reformation.[45] Allegations of judaizing were commonplace. The Catholic Church used this term to describe the reform movements of Wycliffe and Lollard, and the activities of a vast array of reformers.[46] Reuchlin pursued his Hebrew studies under the stigma of being a Judaizer; Melanchthon was attacked by Carlstadt on the grounds that he constantly judaized and wished to deduce everything from Moses. Michael Servetus was finally burned by Calvin as a heretic and Judaizer, though Calvin was himself later accused of the same crime.[47] Luther, too, was both accused of judaizing and used the charge against others. He attacked Sancte Pagnini and Sebastian Münster for their over-reliance on the rabbinical commentaries.[48] Even Erasmus feared that too much concern with Hebrew scholarship would mean a revival of Judaism among Christians.[49]

In this kind of environment, Tremellius must have feared that as a Jewish convert to Christianity he would have been subject to such allegations, even more when one considers that he spent his career teaching and writing on biblical, and especially Hebraic, materials. As we have seen in previous chapters, Tremellius did occasionally suffer as a result of his former religion, but overall this does not really seem to have held him back. Despite the ambiguous, and sometimes contradictory, nature of the attitudes of Christians towards Jews, it would seem that it was generally considered that he brought enough advantages to outweigh the potential risks. Moreover, these may well have been further overcome when Tremellius was able to prove his religious orthodoxy through personal contact. At the same time, an awareness of the wider context in which

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[45] Heiko A. Oberman - 'Discovery of Hebrew and Discrimination Against the Jews: The Veritas Hebraica as Double-Edged Sword in Renaissance and Reformation' in Andrew C. Fix and Susan C. Karant-Nunn (Eds.) - Germania Illustrata: Essays on Early Modern Germany Presented to Gerald Strauss (Kirksville, Missouri, 1992), pp.19-34

[46] Newman - Jewish Influence, p.2; On Lollardy, see most recently Richard Rex - The Lollards (Basingstoke, 2002)

[47] Newman - Jewish Influence, pp.588-9

[48] Ibid., p.528

[49] Ibid., p.24; see also Hilmar M. Pabel - 'Erasmus of Rotterdam and Judaism: A Reexamination in the Light of New Evidence' in ARG 87 (1996), pp.9-37

Tremellius was working, may, at least in part, help us to ascertain why he acted in the way that he did. As a thoughtful and intelligent man, he would have realised that expediency and subtlety in certain issues would be his best means of survival, let alone advancement.

Pedagogical Models

Before going on to look at the specific sources relating to the instruction which Tremellius offered, one needs to consider the context in which he was teaching, and the principal models which he most likely followed. In this way, it will be possible more fully to understand his motivations and attitudes, and through them to better evaluate the nature of Tremellius' own contribution to sixteenth-century education. Three figures, in particular, probably did most to shape his activities. Desiderius Erasmus, Philip Melanchthon and Johann Sturm all made critical contributions to the pedagogy of the age; it is inconceivable that each of these did not, in their own ways, significantly influence the manner in which Tremellius educated his students.

Although historians have recently attempted to play down some of the more exaggerated claims made by certain Renaissance scholars about the limitations of medieval education, and the extent to which they were innovators, a discernibly different attitude did emerge in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[50] No one played a more significant role in transferring the ideals of Renaissance humanism, which had originated in Italy, into northern Europe, than Erasmus (1467?-1536), "the most intellectually brilliant, the most learned, and the most influential European humanist of his generation".[51] While he did occasionally teach for short periods at universities, including a spell teaching

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[50] On education during this period, see especially Paul F. Grendler - Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning 1300-1600 (Baltimore and London, 1989) and Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine - From Humanism to the Humanities. Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe (London, 1986).

[51] Charles G. Nauert, Jr. - Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe (Cambridge, 1995), p.147

Greek and theology at Cambridge,[52] and act as tutor to wealthy youths, it was primarily though the press that he was able to establish his reputation, and indeed to exert his widespread influence.[53] His Adages, a collection of learned and witty maxims, and his De copia, which was long used as a textbook of rhetoric in schools and universities throughout northern Europe, for instance, did much to make his reputation and to spread his educational ideas.[54]

Erasmus, along with the French humanist Jacques Lefevre d'Etaples (c.1460-1536), was in particular responsible for the development of the Christian-humanist programme.[55] The 'studia humanitatis', an expression used by various classical authors including Cicero, was used to refer to the seven liberal arts (comprising the trivium, which consisted of grammar, rhetoric and dialectics, and the quadrivium, which consisted of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music[56]), which formed the basis of a broad general education. When this set of disciplines was applied to Christian subject matter, humanistic studies came to be regarded as a critical component of religious renewal and concentrated on both pagan and Christian antiquity as a source of inspiration. Northern humanism, indeed, became focused on religious matters to an extent which distinguished it from that of Italy.[57] Further, under the influence especially of Erasmus, humanistic learning became a major weapon in the battle for religious reform and spiritual renewal.

In 1509, Lefevre published his Fivefold Psalter, a parallel edition of several ancient Latin texts of the Psalms. Erasmus, meanwhile, immersed himself in the study of

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52 Nauert - Humanism and Culture, p.154

53 Grafton and Jardine - From Humanism to the Humanities (London, 1986), pp.122-60, here at p.123. See also R. J. Schoeck - Erasmus of Europe. The Making of a Humanist 1467-1500 (Edinburgh, 1990), pp.206-22

54 On Erasmus' Adagia Collectanea of 1500, see Schoeck - Erasmus of Europe, pp.235-42; for his De Copia of 1512 see Ibid. pp.211-12

55 Nauert - Humanism and Culture, p.144; on Lefevre, see P. E. Hughes - Lefevre. Pioneer of Ecclesiastical Renewal in France (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1984)

56 Nauert - Humanism and Culture, p.8

57 See the various articles in Anthony Goodman and Angus Mackay (Eds.) - The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe (New York and London, 1990), especially Peter Matheson - 'Humanism and Reform Movements', pp.23-42

Greek. In 1505 he had edited a work by Lorenzo Valla, the Annotations on the New Testament, which he had discovered as a manuscript the previous year, a critical study of the Latin version derived from a philological examination of the original Greek; in 1516, however, he published his own version of the New Testament, which included the first Greek text to be printed.[58] The rhetorical and philological elements of the Christian-humanistic pursuits of Erasmus and Lefevre are certainly echoed in much of Tremellius' activities.

The humanist approach of Erasmus was then brought into line with the sentiments of the Reformation most fully by Philip Melanchthon.[59] Melanchthon gained fame as the father of German education, the so-called 'Praeceptor Germaniae', not least because of his activities in drawing up school charters and setting them up at all levels of education. As a convinced humanist, reform of the schools and universities in order to provide good education was of great importance to Melanchthon. In Wittenberg University, he served as lecturer in Greek, philosophy and occasionally theology in the arts faculty; indeed, in that position he played a critical role in reforming the arts faculty and the university as a whole.[60] He then went on to advise various Lutheran cities and states across Germany on the establishment of their school systems, by letter or in person. Moreover, his School Regulations of 1528 influenced many other schools of Protestant Europe.[61] As Methuen comments, "The educational ideas of Melanchthon the humanist and reformer thus shaped the curricula of schools and universities throughout Germany".[62]

Melanchthon, like Luther, was principally interested in education on theological and ethical grounds, believing it to be the best way of ensuring the spread of Lutheran

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58 See Bentley - Humanists and Holy Writ, p.30 ff.
59 On Melanchthon, see Karin Maag (Ed.) - Melanchthon in Europe. His Work and Influence Beyond Wittenberg (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1999)
60 Charlotte Methuen - Kepler's Tübingen. Stimulus to a Theological Mathematics (Aldershot, 1998), p.30
61 Lowell C. Green - 'The Bible in Sixteenth-Century Humanist Education' in Studies in the Renaissance 19 (1972), p.119
62 Methuen - Kepler's Tübingen, p.31

teaching and Christian morals. His educational emphasis was largely humanist, focusing on the learning and use of Latin and Greek, and on the importance of being able to read all texts, including the Bible, in the original languages.[63] The curriculum which he favoured had much in common with that of Erasmus, for instance. It included the linguistic arts of the trivium, and the mathematic arts of the quadrivium, but at least by university level, ethics, Aristotelian physics and history were also added.[64] Yet the seven liberal arts, despite their importance, were still considered subordinate to theology and the gospel. In any case, religious concepts underlay the entire curriculum. For instance, grammars drew their examples from the Bible or the Catechism, in language classes pupils would often be assigned to translate the Catechism into any of the classical languages, and theological lessons would be drawn in history classes.[65]

The third figure who would have played a formative influence on Tremellius was Johann Sturm (1507-89).[66] Unlike Erasmus and Melanchthon, moreover, whose impact would have been felt in quite a general sense, Sturm and Tremellius undoubtedly had direct personal contact: it was in Sturm's Academy in Strasbourg that Tremellius first found employment following his flight from Italy. Sturm, much like Melanchthon, emphasised the value of education for both classical learning and Protestant piety, but, as Spitz and Tinsley remark, "humanism was not sacrificed to religious indoctrination; for Sturm, like other Reformation humanists, regarded pagan wisdom a harbinger of rather than a challenge to Christian morality".[67] Mesnard has outlined Sturm's pedagogical methodology, developed and perfected throughout his career, but universal in its application. Its key principles were impregnation, continuity and progression.[68]

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63 Methuen - Kepler's Tübingen, p.34
64 Methuen - Kepler's Tübingen, pp.34-5
65 Green - 'Bible in Humanist Education', p.120
66 On Sturm, see Lewis W. Spitz and Barbara Sher Tinsley - Johann Sturm on Education. The Reformation and Humanist Learning (St. Louis, MO, 1995), and Pierre Mesnard - 'The Pedagogy of Johann Sturm (1507-1589) and its Evangelical Inspiration' in Studies in the Renaissance 13 (1966), pp.200-19
67 Spitz and Tinsley - Johann Sturm on Education p.45. See also the collection of texts written by Sturm on, or relating to, education contained in their work.
68 Mesnard - 'Pedagogy of Johann Sturm', pp.209-10

Although Tremellius generally received students who had been through the early stages of their education, the impact of Sturm, Melanchthon and Erasmus would have been keenly felt. His students would already have studied Latin, but perhaps also some Greek; all, moreover, would have been trained in the seven liberal arts. His instruction in Hebrew and/ or Old Testament studies was then both a continuation, and a culmination, of this progression. The 'studia humanitatis' provided the necessary background and the requisite skills for advanced study in Hebrew to be undertaken. The Old Testament texts and the Hebrew language were then approached within this same context. Their value for both the humanistic understanding of ancient texts, and the religious benefits which accompanied them, equally critical elements for the three figures whom we have just considered, were nowhere more obvious than in the study of the Old Testament in the original.

Tutor at Zweibrücken

Yet before we move on to look in more detail at the instruction which Tremellius provided in a university environment, an interesting perspective is provided by his activities as tutor to the three children of Duke Wolfgang of Zweibrücken, a position which he held for about four years between 1555 and 1558. Of course, this was something of an exceptional post for him to have held: rather than teaching university students, who would ordinarily have been at least 14 years of age,[69] and often much older, he was responsible for the instruction of children who, at the start of his tenure, were aged eight, seven and four. From towards the end of this period, we have a letter, written by Tremellius, dated 15 December 1557, and addressed to Conrad Hubert.[70] In the course of this letter, Tremellius sets out, in some detail, his daily activities as tutor,

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[69] In the matriculation records for Cambridge and Heidelberg (see below), a note is made whenever a student was 'impubes', which meant that he was under 14 years of age. Moreover, as Hebrew was a subject of advanced study, its students would almost certainly have been several years older than this by the time they might have encountered Tremellius.

[70] Tremellius to Conrad Hubert, 15 December 1557, ZbZ MS S 91, 47

as Hubert had asked him to do. Given that it was written three years into the job, and to a close friend, this source is presumably quite an accurate characterisation of his activities; neither was it an account written by a teacher before he had begun his instruction, nor was it even written by a teacher to his employer during the course of his teaching, either of which reasons might have led him to exaggerate his abilities or successes.

Despite the unusual nature of the instruction that he was offering, compared with the rest of his career, it still fits in with the principles and exemplars outlined in the previous section. Incidentally, it is worth noting that the Duke of Zweibrücken had himself been instructed by Sturm;[71] it is quite conceivable not only that Tremellius' own experience in Strasbourg helped in gaining this teaching post, but also that Duke Wolfgang directed Tremellius to give instruction to his children according to the way in which he had himself been educated. Either way, the relevance, both in general and specific terms, of Sturm's pedagogy to this phase in Tremellius' teaching career is quite clear.

In his letter to Hubert, Tremellius focuses on the instruction which he provided for the Duke's eldest son, who was still only eleven years old at the time of writing; no mention is made of the other two children, but their tuition cannot have been overlooked. According to Tremellius, considerable progress has been made in the first three years of the prince's education:

> Cum primum scholam ingrederetur, literas quidem agnoscebat, at non, nisi aegerrime, germanice legere potuit. Iam nunc eo usque promovit, ut et germanice et latine expedite, graece autem tolerabiliter, legat. Quin et catechismum germanicum memoriae mandavit et latinam gramaticam cum syntaxi, atque omnia Catonis distica, latine et germanice memoriter didicit, ut promptissime id iussus recitare possit. Didicit quoque evangelia, ut vocant, dominicalia, totius anni.[72]

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71 Spitz and Tinsley - Sturm on Education, p.36
72 Tremellius to Conrad Hubert, 15 December 1557, ZbZ MS S 91, 47

The various elements within this program are largely to be expected from a child's education. Reading and writing, in both the local vernacular and two of the ancient languages (evidently, despite his speciality, Tremellius kept Hebrew for more advanced study), are regarded as the most important skills. The emphasis on grammar and syntax, of course, squares with the 'studia humanitatis' as outlined in the previous section. Moreover, the texts he uses are significant: Cato is representative of the classical heritage, while the catechism and the gospels reflect the ever-present religious dimension to the instruction of this period.

Tremellius goes on to remark that he is not really able to give an accurate account of his normal working week. His hours often changed, and there were often other things to be done, either on account of the boy's parents or his advisers. Also, he notes, he sometimes had to make concessions because of his charge's young age. Nonetheless, Tremellius includes his current schedule which, he says, has been approved by the prince and his advisers. He writes:

> In the morning, the young prince gets up with his class mates, of whom he has seven, at the sixth hour; in the winter, they get up at 7. Once they have got dressed, all approach the teacher; and they pray for a happy day; and they stand around with joined hands and recite their morning prayers in German, with one of them leading and the others following.

Again that the day should begin with prayers highlights the religious context in which this was all happening. Further, it is evident that the value to be gained from having a number of class mates was thought to outweigh that which would be gained from one-to-one tuition.

After prayers and breakfast, their instruction proper begins: "Et unus, cui ordine eo die legendum est, caput unum ex novo testamento, clara voce, ac distincte, latine legit, quo finito, ego, pro mea facultate exempla et doctrinam, in eo, illis ostendo, ex quibus illorum formari mores et pietatem foveri posse judico". Again, the religious context in which the education takes place is manifest. So too is the notion that the Scriptures

contain the wisdom which is necessary for the formation of pious and learned adults. Tremellius' remarks here are also indicative of the way he approached the biblical texts with his young students. Rather than following a 'Loci Communes' approach and identifying specific passages which will best teach particular points, it sounds more as if he would follow the chapters of different books and expound whatever lessons he found in them. This would correspond with what he did in both his lectures, which will be discussed more fully below, and in his biblical annotations as we will see in the two following chapters. Moreover, it gives a further insight into Tremellius' attitude to the Scriptures: all of it contains lessons worth learning, and he feels himself able to draw these out for his audience. This suggests a developed ability to criticise and comment upon his text which goes far beyond the learning of a few choice examples to defend a dogmatic position.

Thereafter, his charges move on to deal with rhetoric. The previous evening Tremellius would have given them an argument in German, which they are now expected to translate into Latin. In so doing, they are asked to justify the rendition that they have made. Tremellius praises the student who makes fewest mistakes, writes most elegantly and is able to retain the sense of the original most fully, believing that praise will encourage the students to seek to emulate each other; this is in marked contrast to the teaching which Tremellius himself received from Farissol, where fear seems to have been regarded as a more important pedagogical tool.[73] Then Tremellius himself goes on to perform a similar exercise with one of Cicero's letters to his friends, this time translating from Latin into German, and explaining the reasoning behind what he has done. He then leaves the students the remaining time up until lunch to commit to memory all that he has told them.

After lunch, which happens at midday, their studies follow a similar pattern. They read a chapter in German, which Tremellius then expounds to them. Thereafter, they go

[73] See Chapter two.

through what they had learnt that morning from the letter of Cicero, analysing the passages according to various grammatical and linguistic issues. They then work on a writing exercise up until 2 o'clock. The next hour is devoted to play; given this level of study, it is perhaps difficult to remember that they are little more than ten years old. At 3 p.m., they return to their studies once more: "Tum ex proverbiis Salomonis, a Melanchthone latine versis, ratione, quam prius indicavi, unam et alteram sententiam illis explico et paulo post, earum explicationem ab illis exigo modo et ordine servato ut prius". It is interesting to note that Tremellius makes it quite clear that he uses the translation made by Melanchthon. Of course, he could have used a Calvinist version, or indeed have created one himself, but he has chosen not to do so; this is the most obvious connection we have between the two, but their moderate positions and their interest in education must have assisted this meeting of minds. Tremellius would then end the day by giving them a hypothesis which would be discussed the following day.

It is evident that this was the pattern which Tremellius followed six days a week; on Sundays, he would engage his students in a separate, although still quite similar, set of activities. In the morning, they were involved in a 'holy reading'; in the afternoon, they would be called to recite from memory the catechism, the gospels, in order according to the day, issues of grammar and syntax, and the couplets of Cato. This goes up to, and beyond, dinner. Tremellius ends his letter by apologising to Hubert for his slowness in replying to his request, but he says that the demands of this position hardly leave him any free time. As he portrays his daily activities here, this is quite understandable!

Educational Books

Pedagogy was clearly a significant factor in much of Tremellius' printed output. His biblical editions will be treated fully in Chapters five and six, so need not be discussed here, other than to note that the annotations with which he supplemented his

translations, in particular, contained a vast amount of information, intended to help his readers with the better understanding of the Scriptures. An annotated translation, even more than a translation on its own, has as one of its main aims the communication of material to an audience. His two works based on Martin Bucer's lectures on Ephesians, too, clearly reflect such a sentiment.[74] While this undoubtedly contributed to his decision to publish the lectures as a whole, it is even more apparent with his separate publication, in the same year, of those passages which deal with the Christian ministry: in the preface to the latter work, Tremellius asserts that the dissemination of the ideas contained therein will have a beneficial effect on its readers, and through them wider society. The underlying notion is that the reading public are in need of instruction, and capable of improvement; Tremellius' role as an educator in this respect is simply one of increasing the audience beyond that which Bucer's lectures originally enjoyed in Cambridge, through the medium of print.

That so many of Tremellius' works were translations, moreover, further highlights his intentions as an author. He is making available to the reading public materials that were either unknown or inaccessible because of limited linguistic capabilities. As we will consider in greater detail in Chapter five, this was certainly a significant factor as regards Tremellius' New Testament edition.[75] Unlike all previous translations which had been made from a Greek text, he based his 1569 edition on a Syriac text which itself had only recently been published, in 1555. The annotations, moreover, are principally directed at explaining why he has translated words and phrases in the way that he has.

Two other works of translation merit further comment. In relation to these, not only was Tremellius making available texts to audiences unable to cope with the originals,

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[74] Immanuel Tremellius (Ed.) - Praelectiones doctiss. in Epistolam D.P. ad Ephesios, eximii doctoris Martini Buceri, habitae Cantabrigiae in Anglia, Anno MD.L. & LI. Ex ore praelegentis collectae, & nunc primum in lucem editae, diligentia Immanuelis Tremellii (Basle, 1562) and Immanuel Tremellius (Ed.) - Libellus Vere Aureus D. Martini Buceri de vi et usu Sacri Ministerii cum in genere tum de singulis partibus eius, nunquam antehac typis impressus (Basle, 1562)

[75] Immanuel Tremellius - H KAINH ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. TESTAMENTUM NOVVM. הִתִּיקָא חַדַתָא Est autem interpretatio Syriaca Noui Testamenti, Hebraeis typis descripta, plerisque etiam locis emendata. Eadem Latino sermone reddita. ([Geneva], 1569)

but he was also bridging, in both directions, the breach between Christianity and Judaism. The earlier of the two works was his translation of the so-called Genevan catechism, which Calvin had first published in 1542. Some older articles on Tremellius, in their catalogues of his writings, suggest that this work was originally published in Paris in 1551, and contained translations into both Hebrew and Greek, but this version does not seem to have survived well.[76] The 1554 edition, which contains only the Hebrew translation, seems to have survived in rather greater numbers.[77] A further edition of this work was published in Leiden in 1591, and seems to have contained translations into Hebrew, Greek and Latin.[78]

There are perhaps two distinct ways in which this work served an educational purpose. The first of these is the more obvious and explicit. In the preface, Tremellius accepts that his engagement in the production of this work may bring criticism upon him, but he goes on to devote a substantial proportion of the introduction to a justification. This rests primarily on the contention that the Jews are automatically unreceptive to works written in Latin, but more likely to be welcoming to something written in Hebrew. This will then help break the deadlock, and make them more receptive to other Christian notions: "Nam instructi Hebraea lingua, non solum doctrina & sententiis divinis, quae in Sacris libris continentur, poterunt erudiri, sed etiam observare ac discere hoc meo libello, ut puriores illae voces, loquutiones, & dicendi figurae, quibus Divinae literae untuntur, ad alia pietatis argumenta & religioses sermones queant aptari."[79] Clearly, and as one might have expected, this catechism is intended to serve a missionary

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[76] This Catechismus Hebraice et Graece (Paris, 1551) is mentioned for instance by Cooper and Cooper - Athenae Cantabrigienses, vol.1, p.425, E. & E. Haag - La France Protestante, vol.9, p.419 and Carlyle, p.187. However, I have found no mention of this work in any of the British or European library catalogues which I have consulted.

[77] Tremellius, Immanuel (Trans.) - תכוך בחירי יה [i.e. Initatio electorum Domini; est versio Hebraica catechismi Jo. Calvini] ([Paris], 1554)

[78] According to Carlyle p.187 and C.H. Cooper and T. Cooper - 'John Emanuel Tremellius' in Ibid. - Athenae Cantabrigienses, vol.1, p.425, this work was entitled Catechesis sive prima institutio aut Rudimenta Religionis Christianae Hebr. Graece et Latine explicata (Leiden, 1591), but I have been unable to find any copies of this work mentioned in the principal library catalogues which I have consulted.

[79] Ibid., preface p.4

purpose. Yet it is still significant, as regards Tremellius' position as a teacher, that he saw education, rather than force, as the key to bringing about conversion.

However, especially because of the inclusion of this preface, which contains passages which would have been offensive to orthodox Jews, a possible second motive may be suggested, namely that it was intended for use in a Christian context. Tremellius may well have appreciated that Calvin's catechism, translated into Hebrew, provided a valuable, while entirely orthodox, translation exercise for those engaged in the early study of that language, either as a prelude or an alternative to the translation of biblical texts. He may well have used this text in his own classroom, and also have hoped that other teachers of Hebrew would use it in the same way. The fact that this work was published with vowel points would certainly support such a contention; a Jewish reader would have been perfectly able to cope with a text which did not have these.

Tremellius also produced a translation into Latin of Jonathan ben Uzziel's own translation of the Prophets into Chaldaean.[80] Very little is known of Jonathan, who is supposed to have lived from the first century BC to the first century AD, although it is said that his translation met with considerable criticism.[81] Tremellius justifies his translation of this work on the grounds that the more versions one has of the biblical texts, through a comparative study, the better understanding one will have as a result. Because of his own proficiency in Chaldaean, Tremellius has been able to make available to a Latin-reading audience this previously undervalued version. This situation seems very similar to the one surrounding his version of the New Testament translated from Syriac, where again he was providing a different, and hopefully complementary version, of something which was already in existence. Likewise, an educational motivation underlies this translation.

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[80] Immanuel Tremellius - Ionathane Filii Uzielis, Antiquissimi & summae apud Hebraeos authoritatis Chaldæa paraphrasis in duodecim minores Prophetas, per Immanuelem Tremelium [sic], Theologiæ Doctorem & Professorem latine reddita (Heidelberg, 1567)

[81] See article on Jonathan ben Uzziel in Encyclopedia Judaica, vol.14

Probably the area most obviously associated with education in which Tremellius was involved, however, was that of grammar. As we have already seen, in the period before 1500, knowledge of Hebrew was restricted to a very small number of people, and most of them received personal instruction either from Jews or from Jewish converts to Christianity. Gradually, under the combined impacts from the advent of the printing press, the Renaissance and the Reformation, advances were made as regards the rather more widespread study of the language through the production of textbooks and grammars. Indeed, Friedman suggests that by 1550, even if one were unable to attend one of the major universities offering Hebrew instruction, it was still possible to learn the language at home: "There were many elementary and advanced Hebrew grammars, a large number of dictionaries and volumes of essays describing and detailing unusual Hebrew structures, fine points of voweling, as well as the Hebrew language's historical development".[82] Many of the early Hebraists, including Conrad Pellican (1503), Johann Reuchlin (1506), Sebastian Münster (1520), Wolfgang Capito (1525) and Sancte Pagnini (1526) produced such works at some stage in their careers.[83]

Tremellius was no exception, and was involved with two separate grammatical works. The earlier of these was the Hebrew grammar produced by his son-in-law Antoine Chevallier, and first published in Geneva in 1561.[84] Tremellius' contribution was limited to a prefatory letter, written in Hebrew, which, as we saw in the previous chapter, is primarily devoted to praise for the author and his abilities as a Hebraist. Interestingly, he begins this letter by addressing his audience as follows: "Immanuel Tremellius, to all those weary of teaching the Holy Tongue, May your peace grow very great".[85] The fact that he should address the teachers rather than the pupils, and,

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82 Friedman - Most Ancient Testimony, p.12

83 D. R. Jones - 'Appendix 1: Aids to the Study of the Bible: a selective historical account of the major grammars, lexicons, concordances, dictionaries and encyclopaedias, and atlases' in S. L. Greenslade (Ed.) - The Cambridge History of the Bible vol.3 The West from the Reformation to the Present Day (Cambridge, 1963), pp.520-1

84 Antoine Chevallier - פְּרַח אֹתָל טוֹעֵר. Rudimenta Hebraicæ Linguæ. Accurate methodo & brevitate conscripta. Eorundem Rudimentorum Praxis, quæ vivæ vocis loco esse possit.... De Hebraica Syntaxi canones generales... Praefixa est epistola Hebræa doctissimi viri Ioan. Immanuelis Tremellii, qua operis totius utilitas copiose demonstraturur (Geneva, 1561)

85 I am most grateful to Stephen Burnett for providing me with this translation.

moreover, that he should do so in Hebrew, suggests a small community of scholars engaged in such studies, working in the face of adversity. Tremellius also speaks almost as if there had been no such work produced before, such is his regard for Chevallier's achievement. Certainly, it proved to be a very popular and successful work: it went through at least another six editions before the end of the century, mostly in Geneva and Wittenberg.

In this context, Tremellius perhaps realised that the gap in the existing scholarship had been adequately filled. He produced a grammar of his own, but it was of Chaldaean and Syriac rather than Hebrew.[86] This work appeared in 1569, and was published both on its own, and also in conjunction with the translation of the New Testament which Tremellius made from Syriac. Especially in regard to the latter, the idea that the student should use the grammar to follow themselves what Tremellius had done in the production of his translation is quite evident, but both it and the free-standing version were also more generally aimed at helping with the learning of this particular Semitic variant.

Whether it be to correct his own translation or not, Tremellius intended that the grammar should be used by those who wanted to learn Syriac as a means of interpreting biblical passages as much from the Old Testament as from the New. For, having contended that God, Moses and the Prophets all spoke Hebrew, he argues that Chaldaean and Syriac, which were derived from that language would have been "neither profane nor foreign to them". He continues: "Neque enim sunt nescii Danielem & Esram chaldaice scripsisse... Neque magis ipsis est controversum, Christum & Apostolos idiomate Syriaco Iudaeis esse concionatos."[87] His belief in the utility of this work, in these various different respects, is quite clear. Presumably, moreover, he envisaged the use of this and his other educational works in his own classroom and

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[86] Immanuel Tremellius - Grammatica Chaldæa et Syra (Geneva, 1569)
[87] Ibid., preface p.4

beyond. Pedagogy was clearly a key concern in the majority of Tremellius' published works.

Biblical Lectures at Heidelberg

Such a concern was even more apparent in relation to the lectures which Tremellius delivered in various universities across northern Europe. Laurence Brockliss has sought to describe the format of the instruction offered by university professors in the early modern period.[88] Most frequently, they would deliver lectures, ordinarily five days a week, to the class as a whole. These were normally between an hour and ninety minutes long, and were split into three sections. The lecturer would generally begin by reading from a standard textbook; his students would be expected to own a copy of this themselves. Then, he would go on to give his interpretation of this passage, advancing theories, countering others and so on, before drawing a series of conclusions. This was the most important section of the lecture, and the part to which most time was devoted. The students would often copy down what their professor said verbatim. The professor would normally read from a prepared script at dictation speed; the student would end the course with a copy of their teacher's commentary on the text which they already owned. By way of a conclusion, the professor would examine the class on how well they had understood the previous section, although this section was often omitted, especially if the class was particularly large. In Protestant universities, professors of theology became biblical exegetes who were expected to provide a literal interpretation of the original Hebrew or Greek text. However, it was also frequently felt that some instruction in religious polemic was also required. The Bible on its own was not a theological textbook, and for that reason, writers like Melanchthon provided Loci Communes and Calvin his Institutes, which allowed specific themes to be more fully addressed.

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[88] Much of the information in this paragraph is taken from Brockliss - 'Curricula', p.565ff.

We are fortunate that an anonymous manuscript, which would appear to be notes made by a student who had attended Tremellius' lectures in Heidelberg, has survived.[89] Although relatively short, it allows comparison both with other lectures of the period, and with Tremellius' subsequent biblical publications. Of this manuscript, entitled Observata ex Immanuelis Tremellii lectionibus, the first 75 folios contain notes on Isaiah chapters 38 to 63 (i.e. the end). Folios 75 and 76 contain notes on the rabbinic commentaries on the last few chapters of the book of Hosea. Folios 76 to 89 comprise remarks derived from Chaldaean Jonathan and rabbinic commentaries on Joel, while commentaries on Amos constitute folios 89 to 91. On folio 76, the manuscript seems to be dated as Geneva on 19 July 1568, but, of course, Tremellius never lectured in Geneva. The most likely conclusion is that, as the different hands on the title page suggest, the notes on Isaiah were made from lectures given by Tremellius, but that the other notes were added subsequently by a student who studied at more than one university. It makes sense, therefore, to focus on the Isaiah remarks, as these are most likely to be reflective of the particular nature of Tremellius' teaching.

The notes do follow something of a pattern. In the main, a Latin translation of the verse is given before any explanatory remarks. This rather suggests that Tremellius, and his students, would both already have a copy of the Hebrew text of the Bible from which they were working. The majority of verses do get some level of treatment, but it is also evident that Tremellius gives attention only to those verses on which he has something to say. Those on which he does not are left without translation or comment. Many of the annotations relate in some way to the Hebrew text: it is evident, moreover, that this was a Hebrew/ Old Testament class, rather than a more general divinity one, as the student obviously possesses a knowledge of Hebrew to quite an advanced stage: there

89 On the first page of the manuscript, written in possibly three separate hands, is the following title: "Observata ex Immanuelis Tremellii lectionibus in Jeschaiam Prophetam// et in Hoscheam Joëlem et Amosum// Emmanuel Tremellius" (breaks indicating the likely separate hands). It is now held in the library of Columbia University, in New York, but there is no indication of how it made its way there, beyond the fact that it was among the manuscripts presented to the University in 1892 by the Trustees of Temple Emanu-El, of New York city.

are numerous notes which involve words and phrases written in Hebrew. The contrast between the instruction which Tremellius offered, and that of the more common Protestant Old Testament lecturers is quite clear. He generally only provided the first level of interpretation, namely the literal translation of his original Hebrew text. This is manifest even from the simple proportion of the student's notes devoted to recording the Latin rendering of the text, but is confirmed by the individual annotations, a large number of which deal with philological and linguistic issues. Equally striking is the absence of anything which resembles religious polemic. Tremellius is not trying to use his lectures on the biblical text to support a particular confessional point of view, but simply to assist his audience in gaining a grammatical and philological understanding of the text at hand.

One might also wonder whether there was a direct connection between the lectures which Tremellius delivered, and his subsequent publications on the same materials. However, a quick analysis of a sample of the verses which are translated in the course of these notes makes it quite clear that they do not constitute the text which would make it into Tremellius' published version of the same chapters; indeed, they are so dissimilar that it does not appear that the one was even consulted when preparing his published version. This, and the speed with which he must therefore have produced that translation, underline how quickly Tremellius was able to work; indeed, he must have been able to move between the languages almost without hesitation. If this were the case, there is no reason why he would not have felt sufficiently confident to produce the translation which is reproduced in this manuscript spontaneously. Alternatively, given that the class was quite small, as we will see in a later section, he may even have worked towards that translation as an exercise with the group as a whole.

In fact, the same statement applies equally well to the comments on each of these verses. While they do largely cover the same range of subjects dealt with in the annotations which accompanied his published translation, there seems remarkably little overlap as regards specific interests. This is perhaps less surprising in relation to his

linguistic and grammatical comments, as these may have been given in response to particular questions raised by his students during the course of making the translation, or again as spontaneous remarks which drew on his own profound knowledge of Hebrew and his very great familiarity with the Scriptures as a whole.

However, the same can rather less easily be said about his references, both to parallel biblical passages, and to other authors. One would have imagined that this was something which one built up over a career of working on these texts, and kept written down somewhere; the detail and frequency of these references and cross-references is such that it would not be possible to have committed them to memory. It seems rather strange that the notes upon which Tremellius presumably based his lectures should not, at the very least, provide some of the specific information of his later publications. For instance, on chapter 38 verse 21, which refers to a cake of figs applied to a boil which threatened the life of Hezeki'ah, the king of Judah, the lecture notes include references to both Pliny and Galen in relation to this practice.[90] The same verse in the published version receives no annotation whatsoever. Similarly, on chapter 41 verse 25, on a minor geographical point, he refers to Pliny, Ptolemy, Polybius and "others".[91] Tremellius does not address this issue in the published version of the same passage.

In the version which he published, Tremellius makes very frequent references to other biblical passages, rather than to these kind of classical sources. In his lectures, too, he makes the same kind of references, but even these do not seem to make it across. For instance, on chapter 41 verse 4, he points to chapter 4 of Paul's letter to the Romans, but this does not appear in his published version.[92] Of course, there may have been specific circumstances surrounding the translation of these chapters which obliged Tremellius to make two separate translations, against his common practice. Otherwise, two possibilities remain. First, this manuscript may not have been made from lectures

[90] Ibid., folio 3v.
[91] Ibid., folio 11r.
[92] Ibid., folio 8v.

delivered by Tremellius. Yet this is hardly likely. The title page makes it very clear, and especially as this was a single manuscript version, rather than a work heading to the press, there was nothing to be gained by falsely attributing it to him. On top of this, the annotations are very much in his style. The other, more convincing, suggestion would be that when he came to publish his translation of the Bible, he did so effectively from scratch.

A final, more easily explicable contrast between these notes and the later published version, is the relatively frequent references made to rabbinic sources in the former. As we will see in the later chapter, it can be shown that Tremellius did make use of such writings in his published version, but that this was always done covertly. In his lectures, however, it would seem, Tremellius felt he need not be quite so cautious. Indeed, they are present almost from the beginning of the manuscript. David Kimhi and Abraham ibn Ezra, two of the most influential mediaeval Jewish commentators, are both mentioned in a note on chapter 38 verse 12, and references to them, especially, are frequent thereafter.[93]

If this manuscript can be correctly attributed to a student of Tremellius, not only does it confirm that he was well versed in rabbinic literature, and consciously so, as one would have expected given his background, but it also tells us something about his perception of himself. In his lectures he clearly felt that if it helped him make a point more effectively, he would draw on whatever sources best suited it. When he came to publish, however, he was rather more circumspect. Classical references are reduced in number, and Judaic ones are removed altogether. As a converted Jew, Tremellius appreciated the polemical assistance he would be giving to his opponents if his works were littered with rabbinic references. His publications would be less likely to encounter criticism if he let this area of knowledge shape them covertly rather than explicitly. The contrast between his responses to the two different situations represents

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[93] Ibid., folio 2v. For further references see the manuscript passim. On Kimhi, see Frank Ephraim Talmage - David Kimhi. The Man and the Commentaries (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, 1975)

quite a subtle assessment of the environment within which he was working. Against this, however, it must also be appreciated that despite these subtle differences, his oral and published approaches to the biblical text still had much in common. His concern was above all with the philological and cultural understanding of the text, not its use for theological discussions or confessional polemic.

The Context of Teaching at Cambridge and Heidelberg

The circumstances relating to the context in which Tremellius offered his university level instruction cannot entirely be reconstructed, but much information survives relating to the periods which he spent in Cambridge and Heidelberg; these can then be used to form a reasonably clear impression of his teaching activities as a whole, as it is likely that they were in many ways typical. Not only is it possible to determine, to a large degree, the framework within which he offered his instruction, and the kind of relationships he was able to establish with his students, but certain particular intellectual connections can also be identified. Having, in the previous sections, established what sort of pedagogic messages Tremellius was imparting, here it will be possible to speculate as to what some of his students would have done with the lessons they learned, and thereby to assess Tremellius' impact within the classroom and beyond.

As we saw in Chapter one, Tremellius was often the first person to offer Hebrew instruction in the institutions in which he taught. Even in Cambridge and Heidelberg, however, things had only relatively recently been established. In Cambridge, in particular, he was able to take advantage of some fortunate timing. In 1536, a statute required both Oxford and Cambridge to offer public lectures, named after the king and funded by the universities themselves.[94] Then, four years later, the cathedral church of

[94] F. Donald Logan - 'The Origins of the So-Called Regius Professorships: An Aspect of the Renaissance in Oxford and Cambridge' in Derek Baker (Ed.) - Renaissance and Renewal in Christian History. Studies in Church History, vol. 14 (Oxford, 1977), pp.273-4

Westminster took over financial responsibility for the lectureships, and extended their number to five, covering Greek, Hebrew, divinity, civil law and medicine.[95] In 1546, with the founding of Christ Church at Oxford, and Trinity College at Cambridge, Westminster was relieved of the burden of paying for the ten lecturers; these new foundations were to pay for the lecturers in Greek, Hebrew and divinity, while the state supported the others.[96] As Logan comments:

> These perpetual endowments assured permanence to these chairs. What the foundation of these five praelectorships at Oxford and Cambridge accomplished was the setting of direction, particularly in underlining the significance of the study of divinity, Greek and Hebrew... These three subjects - divinity, Greek and Hebrew - were three pillars in the edifice of the new learning. Their place was special.[97]

These Regius Professorships were administered according to this pattern until the eighteenth century.[98]

According to the statutes of 1549, the professor of Hebrew was to lecture for five hours every week on Scripture and grammar. In 1564, his commitments were reduced to four hours a week.[99] Thomas Wakefield had been appointed Hebrew lecturer at Cambridge in 1536; then, in 1540, he was appointed Regius Professor, a position which he held until his death in 1575.[100] He was succeeded by Edward Lively, who held the Regius Professorship until 1605; Jones comments that Oxford had seven professors of Hebrew in the same period.[101] The contrast between the two institutions that he draws is perhaps a little exaggerated, however. Although Thomas Wakefield held this position, at least nominally, for a period of 35 years, there were many occasions when he was barred from lecturing, and had to rely on others to take his place. His first substitute

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95 Ibid., p.275
96 Ibid., p.276-7
97 Ibid., p.277
98 Jones - Discovery of Hebrew, p.192
99 Ibid., p.192. This arrangement was reaffirmed in 1576.
100 See John Le Neve - Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, or a calendar of the Principal Ecclesiastical Dignitaries in England and Wales and of the Chief Officers in the Universities of Oxford and Carlisle, vol.3, p.659
101 Ibid., p.199

was Paul Fagius, who had arrived in England with Bucer.[102] As we have seen, however, he died in November 1549, and his place was immediately taken by Tremellius.[103] Edward VI died in July 1553; although Tremellius remained in England until the end of the year, it is unclear whether he continued to teach during those last months. Between 1569 and 1572, Wakefield was replaced by Antoine Chevallier, who had of course taught alongside Tremellius in the early 1550s,[104] and then, in 1574, by Philip Bignon, another Frenchman.

Not only was Hebrew a recognised and stable part of the curriculum from 1540 at the latest, but the sixteenth century also witnessed a gradual process whereby the colleges established their own lectureships. It would seem that at Cambridge, St. John's was the first college to create such a post: John Redman was the first to be appointed to this position, which he held from 1534-5. The King's Hall, which in 1546 would be amalgamated with Michaelhouse to form Trinity College, employed a teacher of Hebrew from 1535. Christ's College at least could afford to offer lectures in Hebrew from 1576, but it is unclear whether it did so; and Gonville and Caius seems to have done the same from 1586. Against this, however, the example of Antoine Chevallier should be borne in mind. While deputising for Wakefield between 1569 and 1572 as Regius Professor, he also lectured on Hebrew at King's College and St. John's College at the same time.[105] The limited number of people with the requisite expertise may have made it more likely that more than one post could be filled by the same scholar.

When one seeks to identify those students who might have encountered Tremellius in Cambridge, as we will do more fully in the following section, therefore, various factors need to be considered. He was delivering free and public lectures for five hours a week, presumably spread through the week; latterly he was sometimes deputised by

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102 Fagius is not mentioned in Le Neve - Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, however.
103 Le Neve - Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae records his appointment simply as 1550.
104 Jones - Discovery of Hebrew, p.204. Chevallier is only mentioned in Le Neve - Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae for the date 24th March 1572.
105 Jones - Discovery of Hebrew, p.204

Chevallier, but their respective duties are unknown. Hebrew instruction may also have been offered within certain colleges, but the fact that Chevallier was appointed Tremellius' deputy, rather than taking such a post himself might suggest that if this was the case, Tremellius was also responsible for this. Even if it were not, it would be extremely surprising if any students involved in the study of Hebrew intentionally avoided receiving instruction from the international holder of this prestigious position. Consequently, those students who graduated with a theological degree, either Bachelor of Divinity (B.D.) or Doctor of Divinity (D.D.), from the University of Cambridge, are at least highly likely to have received instruction from Tremellius. Of course, as the Regius lectures were open to all, it is quite possible that students working towards arts rather than theological degrees, and especially those whose intention was ultimately to progress into divinity, would also have taken advantage of the opportunity afforded by having such a specialist near at hand. Similarly, non-graduating students, a not insignificant category, might well have heard him lecture.

It is also possible to look at the students who Tremellius taught in Heidelberg. Before moving on to specific instances, however, a source survives which allows for the partial reconstruction of his usual teaching duties. In 1569, the Elector Frederick took the unprecedented step of asking each of the faculties within Heidelberg University to provide him with information relating to what subjects were being taught, and to how many students. Tremellius took responsibility for providing the information relating to the theological faculty, which was, incidentally, the first faculty to be recorded; his reply is dated 30 March of the same year. He begins by speaking about Peter Boquin, the professor of the New Testament, in the third person, and concludes by remarking simply that Girolamo Zanchi is away on business. In between these two he explains, in the first person, his own responsibilities.

In his account, Tremellius writes:

> Ego subscriptus vetus testamentum profiteor et hoc tempore librum Job interpretor hora tertia pomeridiana, quam semper, ex quo hic profiteri coepi,

> servavi. Meorum autem auditorum numerus non est semper idem neque, quantus sit, iam propter multorum profectionem ad nundinas cognoscere possum. Qui mecum vivunt auditores mei, dicunt hoc anno se plerumque triginta quatuor in mea lectione numerasse et raro pauciores fuisse quam triginta. Immanuel Tremellius veteris testamenti professor".[106]

This short extract is revealing in various ways. First, it gives an insight into Tremellius' working week, in that it shows that he gave his lectures at the same time each day, and that this had been constant over the eight years he had taught there. Secondly, class numbers were fluid: although he was only teaching 30 or so students, he cannot give a very definite number, suggesting that relatively little attention was paid to this aspect by the teachers. Especially in an age where not every student would matriculate, it may have been that anyone could have attended who wished. Thirdly, Tremellius alludes to the fact that some members of the class lived with him. This was a common practice, but the close relationship between teacher and students which this implies surely strengthens claims relating to influence of the former on the latter. Tremellius states simply that he is currently lecturing on Job: it would seem from this that although, as one must presume, his students were of different ages, and at different stages through their studies, the class of around 30 students all received instruction together. Evidently, the lessons which Tremellius offered was not progressive in the way that modern language learning is, although there was perhaps something of a cumulative effect to be gained from working through a wide range of texts over an extended period of time. Finally, if one assumes an average length of study of five or six years, it would seem that there was perhaps only a turnover of about half a dozen students in the Old Testament class every year.

Six years later, Tremellius, along with Zanchi and Boquin, was responsible for drawing up a new set of statutes for the theological faculty.[107] It is not possible to determine Tremellius' individual contribution to this document, but as the official expression of its

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106 Eduard Winkelmann (Ed.) - Urkundenbuch der Universität Heidelberg zur Fünfhundertiährigen stiftungsfeier der Universität (Heidelberg, 1886), vol.1, pp.308-9

107 The text of these statutes is given in Johann F. Hautz - Geschichte der Universität Heidelberg (2 vols., Mannheim, 1862-4), vol.2, pp.421-5

rules, it is to be expected that all three should subscribe, and that all three should have been consulted first. Brockliss has recently sounded a note of caution in relation to using university statutes to determine what actually happened, remarking that revisions normally occurred so infrequently that they either confirmed changes which had long since taken place, or else were obsolete many years before they were further updated. In addition they tend to be general as regards the areas to be taught, and to avoid identifying the key works which would be used during the instruction.[108]

Certainly, these statutes of 1575 remain vague as regards what was taught, but they may be regarded as fairly reliable as to what went on: we have already encountered the survey of 1569, and the statutes were updated again in 1585, which hardly leaves enough time for the practices they each established to have fallen into disuse. Evidently, practices had somewhat changed in the intervening years. In the statutes of 1575, it is recorded that the Professor of Old Testament studies is to teach four times a week, on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday at the seventh hour of the morning. The survey of 1569 gave no indication whether instruction was given on four or five days, but it would seem that the hour at which Tremellius was to teach had changed.

From the experiences of teaching which Tremellius had in both Cambridge and Heidelberg, various broad conclusions may be drawn. It was customary for him to lecture on either four or five days a week, for an hour at a time. His students were not divided into different classes according either to ability or to the length of time which they had spent on their studies; rather, all received the same instruction as one group. This instruction took the form of the exposition of a book of the Old Testament, so the progression was less in the increasing of difficulty, and more to do with the building up of experience and practice in the lessons which Tremellius drew from his text. The number of students was never really large: in both Cambridge and Heidelberg, there were perhaps five or six new students each year, and most might have studied for

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108 Laurence Brockliss - 'Curricula', p.565

around six years. The intimacy of the relatively small group would have been further enhanced by the frequency with which they all met, and the fact that a number would have resided with Tremellius in his own house. In this context, it is to be expected that at least for some students, Tremellius would have had a significant impact, increased the more time they spent with him.

Students at Cambridge and Heidelberg

The matriculation records of the universities of Cambridge and Heidelberg have both been published, unlike those of the other institutions at which Tremellius taught, making those the most readily accessible for exploring his connections with students. The records for Cambridge are particularly helpful as the degrees which were being studied for are also recorded. This means that it is possible to identify every student, at least if he matriculated, who studied towards a theological degree, during the period that Tremellius was there. The same is not true for Heidelberg, however. According to the matriculation records of that university, between 1558 and 1577, when Tremellius was a professor there, just over 2,500 students entered the university.[109] It is likely that for a high proportion of these students, their entry in the matriculation records is the only mark they have made in the sources of the period. Consequently, a trawl through the records would not allow for the reconstruction of Tremellius' classes in the way that can be done in relation to Cambridge. Instead, one needs to rely rather more heavily on information drawn from elsewhere to identify possible connections with students. In any case, it is important to be aware of the limitations of the matriculation records. As we noted in relation to Cambridge, especially because they were public lectures, anyone could have attended; similarly, not all students matriculated, while, conversely, not all who matriculated then attended their classes.

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109 Gustave Toepke - Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg von 1386-1662 (2 vols., Heidelberg, 1884-6), vol.2, pp.13-82

Appendix 5 contains a complete list of all the students who studied towards a theological degree at the university of Cambridge, who graduated between 1550 and 1560, and two further students from 1561 and 1562 who may also have studied with Tremellius. Those who graduated between 1550 and 1553 must almost certainly have received some instruction from him. For the remainder of the decade, it is possible to identify when the degree was begun. Seven years seems to be the most common length of period of study, so even the completion of a degree at the end of the decade may have allowed some degree of overlap. This is indicated in the appendix. There is also an effort to determine where the students were during the reign of Edward VI. Certain patterns are evident in the graduation records. A number of Catholic students fled to the continent while Tremellius was teaching, but, on the other hand, a number of Protestants returned after 1558 to complete their studies begun in that period. This information is also recorded, where possible, in the appendix.

Twenty one students graduated with a theological degree between 1550 and 1553, the period during which Tremellius held his Regius Professorship.[110] Of these 21 individuals, 18 received B.D.s, and three gained doctorates in theology. The honorary degree awarded to Bucer in 1549-50 is the only obvious anomaly; the close relationship between Tremellius and Bucer has already been considered in the previous chapter. It is perhaps sensible, moreover, to exercise somewhat greater caution in relation to those receiving the higher degree (Bucer, Perne and Young), as they already had established careers, and it is unclear what proportion of their times they devoted to their studies; on the other hand, it would surely be perverse for them intentionally to have avoided hearing a continental expert when he was right on their doorstep. Using a number of standard reference works, including Venn's Athenae Cantabrigiensis, Cooper's Alumni

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[110] This list has been compiled using the entries in John Venn (Ed.) - Grace Book A Containing the Records of Cambridge for the Years 1542-1589 (Cambridge, 1910), and cross-referencing these with the index of degrees. They have also been checked against the information contained in John Venn and J. A. Venn (Eds.) - The Book of Matriculations and Degrees: A Catalogue of those who have been Matriculated or been admitted to any Degree in the University of Cambridge from 1544 to 1659 (Cambridge, 1913)

Cantabrigiensis and the Dictionary of National Biography, it has been possible to identify what many of these individuals would go on to after achieving their degrees.[111]

Many of his students had strong associations with the Protestant faith. John Thompson and Edmund Bovington both had verses in the collection of the death of Bucer in 1550. Edmund Gest remained in England during the reign of Mary, but apparently only with difficulty. John Pedder (d.1571) retired abroad under Queen Mary, and was at Strasbourg in 1554, as was Tremellius. Pedder returned to England on Elizabeth's accession. James Pilkington (1520-76) took part in a 'disputation' on transubstantiation in Cambridge in June 1549. He fled the Marian persecutions in 1554, spending time at Zürich, Basle, Geneva and Frankfurt. Thomas Lever (d.1577) became a leader of the extreme party of Protestant reformers in the university. After Mary's accession, he fled to Zürich, Lentzeburg, Berne, Lausanne, and was in Geneva by October 1554. While there, he regularly attended the lectures and sermons of Calvin. He too returned to England on the death of Mary. On the other hand, it is evident that not all Tremellius' students were so inclined. It has been argued that Andrew Perne (1519-1589) owed his successful career principally to his pliancy in matters of religion, while John Young was deprived of his various preferments in 1559, on account of his Catholicism, and imprisoned between 1561 and 1579.

Some students, moreover, came to hold intimate positions with figures with whom Tremellius has already been closely associated. On Matthew Parker's election as archbishop, Andrew Pierson (d.1594) became his chaplain, almoner and master of faculties. On Elizabeth's accession, Edmund Gest (1518-1577) entered Parker's household as a domestic chaplain, early in 1559. Gest's moderate opinions, moreover,

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111 J. Venn and J.A.Venn - Alumni Cantabrigienses. A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900 (4 vols., Cambridge, 1922-), Charles Henry Cooper and Thompson Cooper - Athenae Cantabrigienses (3 vols., Cambridge, 1858-1913), Dictionary of National Bibliography. These have all been supplemented by Venn - Grace Book Δ and Venn and Venn - Book of Matriculations and Degrees

recommended him to Cecil in settling the affairs of the Reformed church. John Thompson became chaplain to the Queen herself.

There were several main fields in which these students gained prominence. A number attained significant positions within the church, normally shortly following the accession of Queen Elizabeth. For instance Edmund Gest, would go on to hold the positions of archdeacon of Canterbury, bishop of Rochester, and bishop of Salisbury. John Pedder would go on to become dean of Worcester. James Pilkington became the first Protestant Bishop of Durham. Thomas Lever became minister, and then archdeacon, of Coventry. Andrew Perne, who gained his D.D. in 1551-2, held at least half a dozen positions within the church, of which the most prestigious was dean of Ely. Between these figures, and those of a slightly lesser profile, Tremellius' influence would have been spread across a large part of the country.

A second area in which his students gained prominence was within the hierarchy of Cambridge university. Andrew Pierson was elected fellow and then bursar of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; in 1550-1, he served as proctor. Edmund Gest would later become vice-provost of King's College. Edmund Bovington (1513-1583?) served as conduct of the same college. In April 1548, James Pilkington became one of the preachers of St. John's College, then a senior fellow, and finally in 1550 president of the college. Thomas Lever was master of St. John's between 1551-3. Andrew Perne served as vice-chancellor of Cambridge on five separate occasions, as well as acting as Master of Peterhouse between 1554 and 1589. John Young, similarly, was Master of Pembroke between 1554 and 1559, and served as vice-chancellor of the university in the academic year 1553-4.

Closely connected to this are those students who went on to offer tuition themselves. James Pilkington lectured in the public schools of the University on the Acts of the Apostles. While at Basle, during the reign of Mary, he lectured on Ecclesiastes, the Petrine Epistles, and Galatians. In 1559, he became Regius Professor of Divinity. He

was afterwards associated with Sir John Cheke in settling the pronunciation of Greek. John Thompson was Lady Margaret preacher between 1552-4. John Young, having obtained his D.D. in 1552-3, would go on to become Regius Professor of Divinity in 1555.

A final main area in which Tremellius' students made an impression was through their writings. William Whitlock (d.1584) was a religious historian, chiefly remarkable for his additions to the manuscript chronicle of Thomas Chesterfield. This record of the bishops of Coventry and Lichfield extended to 1347. Whitlock added many details to the existing chronicle, and compiled a supplement continuing it to 1559. More likely to show intellectual connections, perhaps, are those who wrote on more straightforward religious matters. Thomas Lever, a Puritan divine was the author of various 'Sermons' which have survived. Christopher Carlisle (d.1588) was an author of theological works and a noted Hebraist. Among his works were A Discourse wherein is plainly proved... that Peter was never at Rome (London, 1572), A Discourse, concerning two divine Positions (London, 1582), as well as a manuscript dating from 1573 of the Psalms of David in English with annotations. James Pilkington assisted in the revision of the Book of Common Prayer. Edmund Gest was one of the revisers of the liturgy before it was submitted to Elizabeth's first parliament.

Perhaps most significantly, some of Tremellius' students contributed to the Bishops' Bible of 1568, which was in large measure a revision of the Great Bible of 1539.[112] Andrew Pierson was responsible for the translations of Leviticus, Numbers, Job and Proverbs. He may also have prepared the translations of Ezra to Esther which were not ascribed.[113] Andrew Perne contributed translations of Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon. It has been suggested that Edmund Gest was responsible for both the translations of Psalms and the Epistle to the Romans. In fact, it seems certain that the

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[112] On the Bishops' Bible, see Charles C. Butterworth - The Literary Lineage of the King James Bible 1340-1611 (Philadelphia, 1941), pp.173-87. There is a list of all the contributors, and their contributions, on page 177.

[113] The suggestion is Butterworth's, Ibid., p.177

latter was prepared by Richard Cox, the Bishop of Ely. As for the Psalms, Thomas Bickley, who would later become the Bishop of Chichester, has also been put forward, but that ascription is equally tentative.

A further forty or so students received their theological degrees between 1553 and the end of that decade. As these are a little more tentative than the first group, it will be enough simply to draw attention to some of the most prominent students, and those upon whom the influence of Tremellius could be most easily assessed. A number of these figures would hold significant positions within the upper reaches of Cambridge University. Thomas Pecock went on to become President of Queen's College, Cambridge in 1557. Thomas Watson would become master of St. John's College in 1553, while George Bullock would hold the same position in the following year. In December 1556, William Taylor became master of Christ's College. Edward Hawfarde and John Pory both became masters of Corpus Christi College. Thomas Redman held this post at Jesus College in 1559, while Roger Kelke occupied it at Magdalen College. William Whynke served as a vice-provost of King's College. Robert Brassie would become vice-chancellor of the university in 1557. John Pory succeeded him the following year. Philip Baker then held this position in 1561-2.

Certain of Tremellius students would go on to occupy positions in which their earlier connection with him might have had a more immediate impact. Among these people were William Taylor and George Bullock who would become Lady Margaret Professors of Divinity in 1554 and 1556 respectively. Thomas Segiswicke held the same post in 1554, before becoming Regius Professor of Divinity between 1557 and 1559. While many of these figures may not have shared Tremellius' religious orientation, it is still quite likely they would have benefited from his instruction. As we have already seen in the sections dealing with his teaching, and will encounter in the chapters dealing with his published biblical scholarship, there was almost nothing of a confessional nature; the insights provided by his learning could be used in very different ways by his hearers.

Unlike the records for Cambridge University, however, only very rarely is there any indication within these as to which subjects the students at Heidelberg embarked upon. Even more than in relation to his students in Cambridge therefore, it is necessary to pay close attention to the careers of his Heidelberg students. In addition, it is evident from various pieces of anecdotal evidence that Tremellius taught various students in Heidelberg who did not matriculate. Thus, while the matriculation records are an excellent starting place for this theme, its various limitations must also be borne in mind. Surviving evidence does not allow for the complete reconstruction of Tremellius' classes over the sixteen years he was in Heidelberg; rather, as in the preceding discussion, the intention here is to identify a handful of his students who would go on to prestigious careers in their own right, and to flag connections for further study.

Although as we saw in the previous chapter, there does not seem to have been any personal contact between Tremellius and Heinrich Bullinger, a further indirect link may be made. In 1570, two of his grandsons, Rudolph Gualter and Rudolph Zwingli, matriculated at Heidelberg. It seems both were subsequently instructed by Tremellius.[114] The latter in particular seems to have valued his teacher highly. In a letter written from Cambridge on 26 January 1572, he expressed his gratitude to Bishop Sandys for various kindnesses that the latter has shown to him. In particular, Sandys had arranged for Zwingli to gain a place at Cambridge University, and to be admitted to St. John's College. Zwingli also praises his comfortable rooms and excellent tutor, before going on to remark:

> And I rejoice, not so much on my account, as for the sake of my studies, that I have the means and opportunity afforded me of hearing that most famous and learned man, master Anthony Chevalier, to whom our Germany can scarce produce an equal in the knowledge of Hebrew, or one who can bear a comparison with him, except Immanuel Tremellius, whom I heard lecturing most ably at Heidelberg in the Palatinate, and from whose lectures, I think, I derived no small advantage.[115]

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[114] Newman - Jewish Influence, p.509

[115] Rudolf Zwingli to Bishop Sandys, January 26, 1572: Zürich Letters, No. 76; StAZ EII 359, 3093b

While the praise of Chevalier, and all things related to Cambridge may, at least in part, be attributed to the purpose of the letter, which is to thank Sandys for his patronage, and to ask that it may be continued (although Zwingli was in fact to die in June of the same year), the reference to Tremellius comes outwith that context, and may be regarded as a rather more impartial observation. Zwingli's knowledge of German academic institutions may not have been especially wide, but his suggestion that Tremellius was the most able professor teacher of Hebrew in Germany is certainly a strong endorsement indeed.

Johannes Hortensius, or Jean Hortin, had studied at the Academy in Geneva from 1563, where he may have married the daughter of Antoine Chevallier, before matriculating at Heidelberg in 1565.[116] There he was taught by Tremellius. He is then mentioned in a letter from Haller in Berne to Bullinger of June 1574.

> Venit enim ex Heidelberga Iohannes Hortinus Lausanensis...; is quia ad quadriennium fere sumptibus magistratus nostri illic apud d. Tremellium sustenatus est, tantos ibi fecit in illius et Chaldaicae et Syriacae lingue cognitione progressus, ut nullum ibi ex iunioribus in hoc scientie genere parem habuerit. Unde factum, ut et d. Tremellius illi neptim suam, filiam d. Antonii Chavalerii, qui olim et Lausanne et Geneve summa cum laude Hebraeas quoque literas docuit, desponderit.[117]

Between 1574 and 1579, Hortin was a professor of Hebrew at the Haute Ecole of Berne. In addition, as we saw in the previous chapter, on 3 November 1579, he wrote a letter to Beza, expressing his indignation that Tremellius should, at that time, have been working on the Talmud. That Tremellius should come in for such criticism from someone he had previously taught again highlights the edgy religious atmosphere in which they were operating.

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116 Jean Hortin to Theodore Beza, 3 November 1579, C.deB. 1383
117 Johannes Haller to Heinrich Bullinger, 18 June 1574, StAZ E II 370, 499f

The theologian David Pareus, who would later support his former teacher, had matriculated in 1566.[118] Theophilus Banosius, who would write the first biography of Peter Ramus, arrived three years later. In addition, several younger students, who may well have studied Hebrew also arrived during this period. Tremellius' son, who is named as 'Immanuel Tremellius junior', appears in the matriculation records in 1561, the same year as his father was made a professor. Peter Boquin junior began his studies in there in 1566, his father having arrived there in 1557. It is surely quite likely that their sons would have followed them into theological studies. It would also be interesting to know whether Conrad Pelican, who matriculated in 1571, and Jacobus Fagius, who arrived in 1568, followed their namesakes into the study of Hebrew.

Finally, there are suggestions that Peter Ramus and Philippe du Plessis-Mornay encountered Tremellius in Heidelberg, although neither appears in the matriculation records. Indeed, it would seem both of these figures stayed with Tremellius while they were in Heidelberg. In Banosius' life of Ramus, the professor of philosophy and rhetoric, it is written: "Nam cum Heydelbergae una apud D. Immanuelem Tremellium anno septuagesimo viveremus, Gallicis concionibus semper interfuit, & sacrae Coenae, edita primum fidei suae confessione, cum magno Dei timore & cultus divini reverentia non semel communicavit".[119] Unfortunately it is not clear how long Ramus stayed with Tremellius, nor whether this friendship extended beyond that time. Ramus was, of course, something of a controversial figure with whom to be associated; Theodore Beza, in particular, was particularly outspoken in his criticism of this figure.

As for du Plessis-Mornay (1549-1623), in the Mémoires written by his wife mention is made of the fact that he stayed with Tremellius in Heidelberg in around 1569: "Il passa l'hyver à Heydelberg, chez monsr Emanuel Tremelius, l'homme de chrestienté qui avoit connoissance de plus de langues, mais particulièrement très excellent en

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[118] See Walther Koch - 'Ehrenrettung des judenchristlichen Professors Immanuel Tremellius durch den Pfälzischen Theologen David Pareus' in Blätter für pfälzische Kirchengeschichte 27 (1960), pp.140-4
[119] Theophilus Banosius - Petri Rami... Vita (Frankfurt, 1578)

l'hébraíque".[120] Mornay would go on to become a prominent leader of the French reformed church and professor of theology at the theological academy in Saumur. He was, like Tremellius, a moderate in religious matters, but he is also known to have been quite keenly committed to the so-called Jewish mission. Not only did he write an anti-Jewish polemical work himself, l'Advertissement sur la venue du Messie (1607), but he also had Johannes Buxtorf work on preparing an edition of the Pugio fidei for publication, something the latter was reluctant to do because of his own disinclination to get involved in anti-Jewish controversies.[121]

Conclusion

The teaching of theology, and particularly of Hebrew, was of great significance in the Reformation era, but there were relatively few able to deliver it. Not only was Tremellius able to provide this much needed skill, but he was indeed one of the finest exponents. The light shed by his experiences do much therefore to contribute to our appreciation of this little-studied subject. No matter the age of his students, the twin emphases on classical learning and Christian piety remained constant. In all of what we have seen in this chapter, Tremellius exemplified the Christian humanist outlook. The liberal arts, and particularly those subjects most closely associated with rhetoric underpinned much of what he did. The children of the Duke of Zweibrücken spent much of their time translating into and out of Latin and Greek, seeking to provide both the most accurate and the most elegant renditions of their text. Cicero and Cato, the catechism[122] and the Bible, reflect the two sides to the curriculum, but the two were intended to be complementary. In his lectures delivered in Heidelberg, the underlying

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120 Madame de Witt, née Guizot - Memoires de Madame de Mornay. Edition revue les manuscrits publiée avec les variants et accompagnée de lettres inédites de Mr et Mme Plessis Mornay et de leurs enfants (2 vols, Paris, 1867-9), vol. 1 p.26. See also Raoul Patry - Philippe du Plessis-Mornay. Un huguenot homme d'Etat (1549-1623) (Paris, 1933), pp.16-17. I am grateful to Joshua Rosenthal for very recently bringing this connection to my attention.

121 Stephen G. Burnett - From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies. Johannes Buxtorf (1564-1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth Century (Leiden, New York, Cologne, 1996), p.95 ff.

122 Unfortunately Tremellius gives no indication as to which catechism he favoured.

ideas remained the same, even if the language and subject matter did not. Producing faithful yet smooth translations of the Hebrew text remained the pre-eminent concern, while the ensuing discussion centred on philological, linguistic and literary concerns. Each of these are again different dimensions of the same rhetorical principle. In a number of his published works, moreover, such concerns could be spread to students beyond Tremellius' own classroom.

Of course, as a converted Jew working with Hebraic materials, Tremellius had to be cautious in what he was doing. At the same time, however, it was more than simply a policy of survival: his actions fit in exactly with the manner in which some of the leading educational figures of the first half of the sixteenth century, including Erasmus, Melanchthon and Sturm had also advocated. Tremellius' contemporaries undoubtedly realised the advantages that were to be drawn from providing instruction in the ancient languages by someone who was so proficient. This certainly does much to explain why people were so quick to offer him patronage, and why he so regularly encountered praise from his friends and colleagues. Simply having him working for the faith was important enough (especially, presumably, for those who did not themselves understand any Hebrew), but there were many direct and indirect consequences of this, as can be seen in what some of his students would go on to do.

Almost all of his students were, inevitably, working towards theological degrees. In the main, therefore, this meant that they would go on to careers in the church, as preachers, pastors and writers, or else remain in the field of education themselves. Tremellius was not so much offering his students material they could use themselves, as providing them with the necessary skills to tackle Hebrew passages on their own. His quiet and non-combative attitude may have had an influence on some of those with whom he was closest, but ultimately the techniques which he provided could be used in very different ways. Relatively few would ever have attained anything near the standard which he

himself could claim,[123] but in the Reformation era, where the defining principle was sola scriptura, he was offering people the opportunity for reading, interpreting and understanding the holy text in its original and unadulterated form. This was a subject which would continue to grow into the seventeenth century, but Tremellius played a significant role in opening this field up through the middle of the sixteenth. The development was a slow one, and the skills far from easy to acquire, but they were of such critical importance that they continued to be exploited for all the perceived benefits that they would bring.

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[123] This is a point which is made especially clear in the forthcoming article of Stephen G Burnett - 'Reassessing the 'Basel-Wittenberg Conflict': Dimensions of the Reformation-Era Discussion of Hebrew Scholarship'. In this article, Burnett shows how few figures, within the German context, were sufficiently skilled to either offer Hebrew instruction or to produce books on Hebraic materials. I am grateful to him for sending me a copy of this article in advance of publication.

Chapter Five: Tremellius' Bible I

Background and the Novum Testamentum (1569)

By far the most important and lasting contribution which Tremellius made was constituted by his published biblical editions. In Chapter six, his Old Testament, whose importance has long been recognised by historians of the Reformation, will be discussed in greater detail, but in this chapter, his New Testament will be subjected to scrutiny. Although this latter work has not received quite the same level of attention as the former, it too holds an important position in the biblical scholarship of the early modern period. It is a work which has never been given anything more than a highly superficial treatment, so the analysis which follows represents the first detailed assessment of this important work. Yet before we move on to a closer examination of this text, several preliminary questions need to be addressed. It is important to consider why, in the first place, Tremellius thought it worthwhile to publish his editions of both Testaments, particularly in the latter stages of his career. This, in turn, obliges us to examine the main developments of the biblical scholarship of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Then, specifically in relation to Tremellius' New Testament, it is essential to understand what he felt he was doing by producing a translation from Syriac rather than Greek. Answers to these questions will all be necessary for helping fully to contextualise Tremellius' achievement in bringing this work to the press.

Tremellius only published his New Testament in 1569, by which point he was almost sixty, and his Old Testament towards the end of the following decade. It is evident, therefore, that neither work was intended to win for himself either a new post or increased favour with potential or existing patrons or employers. By beginning with the

New Testament, the testament which distinguishes Christianity from Judaism, Tremellius may have been aligning himself more closely with his adopted faith, and distancing himself from the one into which he was born, and overcoming any prejudices related to his Jewish background or suspicions that he was a judaizer. On the other hand, the fact that this work appeared so late in his career, and moreover that he continued to work with Semitic sources, does rather undermine such a hypothesis.

Specifically in relation to his New Testament, two related ideas, which may have shaped his thinking, ought to be considered. First, there is the notion of the integrity of the Old Testament and the New: the belief that the Old Testament cannot be understood, at least in a Christian context, without also an awareness and appreciation of the New Testament.[1] The inter-relatedness of the two may have prompted Tremellius to move beyond the area in which he specialised as a teacher. The production of the Syriac text at an opportune movement may have facilitated this move; he would presumably have been far more comfortable dealing with a Syriac rather than a Greek base-text.

Connected to this, but on a more practical level, Tremellius may already have been intending to take an edition of the Old Testament to the press. The fact that his Latin rendering of the Syriac text, and the annotations on it, were subsequently incorporated into the larger work, completed with Junius, including the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, and the New Testament, may reflect a desire to obtain completeness on Tremellius' part. As a biblical scholar, to have produced an entire edition of the Scriptures (although the Apocrypha, the most doubtful component of the canon, was entirely the work of Junius) was a considerable achievement, which demonstrated a far broader knowledge and more profound understanding of the Scriptures than had he restricted himself either to individual books, or indeed, to one or other Testament.

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[1] See thesis 4 of David Steinmetz's 'Theology and Exegesis: Ten Theses' in Olivier Fatio and Pierre Fraenkel (Eds.) – Histoire de l'exegèse au XVI siècle (Geneva, 1978): "The OT is the hermeneutical key which unlocks the meaning of the NT and apart from which it will be misunderstood", p.382. I am also grateful to Max von Habsburg who discussed this idea with me.

More convincing, perhaps, would be to consider both works as an extension of the pedagogical concern which we encountered in the previous chapter. One must imagine that Tremellius was inclined to pass on his learning and knowledge to future generations. Expressly because he was approaching the end of his life, Tremellius may have realised that there would be only so many more pupils entering his classroom. He could have a more permanent, and more widely felt, impact by turning his knowledge into book form. The connection between teaching and printed output is perhaps more manifest in relation to his production of his version of the Old Testament, but the same impetus may in part lie behind his production of his New Testament edition. As we will discuss more fully shortly, Syriac was not a widely disseminated language. By providing a Latin translation of the Syriac edition of the New Testament, he was making accessible a previously obscure body of material. Moreover, in publishing this in conjunction with a Chaldaean grammar, he was providing the means by which the more dedicated students might approach the original text itself.

Supplementing the altruistic desire to increase humanity's understanding of the Scriptures in this way, however, one may also speculate that this work, along with the Old Testament, especially, reflects a desire on Tremellius' part to leave a lasting mark on the society in which he had lived. The subsequent success with which his scriptural editions were met would indicate how well he had fulfilled this implicit aim; on the other hand, the relative neglect to which he has been subjected, historically, would also indicate the limits of this.

The Latin Bible in the Sixteenth Century

Traditionally, the return ad fontes is seen as characterising the work of the fifteenth and early sixteenth-century Renaissance humanists; the sixteenth century is seen more as an age in which especially the Protestant reformers produced vernacular editions of the scriptures, in keeping with their ideas on the advantages to be gained from providing

widespread access to these writings; access, moreover, which had so long been denied to the multitude by the Catholic church, given the latter's insistence on using the Bible only in Latin, and the former's failure to acquire the necessary skills to cope with the Bible in that language. Yet, while the growth of vernacular printing, both of secular and religious writings, following the incunabular period, is a definite phenomenon,[2] Tremellius was far from unique in seeking to produce a Latin rendering of parts of the Bible well into the sixteenth century.

From the middle of the fifteenth century, Renaissance humanists began to apply their newly acquired knowledge of Greek and Hebrew to the Scriptures, in the belief that a restored biblical text could act as the means by which the Church, and indeed Christendom as a whole, might be renewed. Their efforts took two main forms.[3] First, there were efforts to improve upon Jerome's translation, known as the Vulgate. Around the middle of the fifteenth century, the Italian humanist, Lorenzo Valla, prepared proposals for the correction of the New Testament, derived from Greek manuscripts.[4] At the time, such work was ground-breaking. As Bentley notes: "Valla was the first westerner since the patristic age to enjoy a thorough knowledge of Greek and to apply it extensively in his study of the New Testament."[5] In addition, Valla noted how Jerome, in the fourth century, had complained that there were as many texts ("exemplaria") as

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[2] See Anne Jacobson Schutte – Printed Italian Vernacular Religious Books, 1465-1530: A Finding List (Geneva, 1983); Ibid. – 'Printing, Piety and the People in Italy: The First Thirty Years' in ARG 71 (1980), pp.5-20. Miriam U. Chrisman – 'Printing and the Evolution of Lay Culture in Strasbourg, 1480-1599' in R. Po Chia Hsia – German People and the Reformation; Gaetano Cozzi – 'Books and Society' in JMH 51 (1979), pp.86-98, and Richard Crofts – 'Books, Reform and the Reformation' in ARG 71 (1980), pp.21-36

[3] Among the most helpful works on the biblical scholarship of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are Roland Bainton – 'The Bible in the Reformation' and Basil Hall - 'Biblical Scholarship: Editions and Commentaries' both in S. L. Greenslade (Ed.) – The Cambridge History of the Bible, vol. III: The West from the Reformation to the Present Day (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 1-37 and pp.38-93 respectively; Guy Bedouelle and Bernard Roussel (Eds) – Les temps des Reformes et la Bible (Paris, 1989), Debora Kuller Shuger - The Renaissance Bible. Scholarship, Sacrifice and Subjectivity (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1994, 1998) and Alastair Hamilton – 'Humanists and the Bible' in Jill Kraye (Ed.) - The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism (Cambridge, 1996), pp.100-117

[4] On Valla, see especially Jerry H. Bentley – Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance (Princeton, New Jersey, 1983), 32-69 and Paul Oskar Kristeller – Eight Philosophers of the Renaissance, (London, 1965), pp.19-36

[5] Bentley - Humanists and Holy Writ, pp.32-3

manuscripts of the New Testament.[6] The intervening 1000 years had seen many more appear. Consequently, Valla set himself the task of evaluating the Vulgate as a translation of the Greek New Testament. He collated at least seven Greek and four Latin manuscripts of the New Testament, although only rarely did he actually explain why he chose the readings of one manuscript over that of another.[7]

At the start of the sixteenth century, such works became more common. In 1509, for instance, Jacques Lefevre d'Etaples produced his Fivefold Psalter, which contained five different Latin versions of the text of the Psalms in separate columns.[8] The fifth version, which is Lefevre's own, is a revision of the Vulgate, corrected by comparison with the Hebrew original. However, the most famous name associated with biblical scholarship of the sixteenth century is unquestionably Erasmus.[9] He drew heavily on Valla's work - he was responsible for publishing the latter's Adnotations to the New Testament, which he found in a monastery near Louvain[10] – but his own work would dominate New Testament research for the next three centuries.[11] The first edition of Erasmus' New Testament presented a Vulgate text that Erasmus had himself extensively revised, to bring it into line with the Greek text, printed opposite the Vulgate in parallel columns; however, in most of the subsequent editions of this work, he included only his own Latin translation opposite the Greek.[12]

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6 Ibid., p.35
7 Ibid., p.39
8 P. E. Hughes – Lefèvre: Pioneer of Ecclesiastical Renewal in France (1994), p.53 ff. On Lefevre, also see John B. Payne – 'Erasmus and Lefèvre d'Etaples as Interpreters of Paul' in ARG 65 (1974), pp.54-83
9 On Erasmus, see Roland H. Bainton – Erasmus of Christendom (London, 1969). Marcel Bataillon – Erasme et l'Espagne: Recherches sur l'histoire spirituelle du XVIe siècle (Geneva, 1937, 1991). Richard L. DeMolen (Ed.) – Essays on the Works of Erasmus (New Haven and London, 1978). L. E. Halkin – Erasmus. A Critical Biography (1993). James D. Tracy – Erasmus. The Growth of a Mind (Geneva, 1972)
10 Charles G. Nauert, Jr. - Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe (Cambridge, 1995), p.40
11 For Erasmus' biblical scholarship, see Bentley – Humanists and Holy Writ, pp.112-93; Ibid. – 'Erasmus 'Annotations in Novum Testamentum' and the Textual Criticism of the Gospel' in ARG 67 (1976), pp.33-53; Ibid. – 'Biblical Philology and Christian Humanism: Lorenzo Valla and Erasmus as Scholars of the Gospels' in SCI 8,2 (1977), pp.9-28. Laurel Carrington – 'The Boundaries Between Texts and Reader: Erasmus' Approach to Reading Scripture' in ARG 88 (1997), pp.5-22 and C. A. L. Jarrott – 'Erasmus' Biblical Humanism' in Studies in the Renaissance 17 (1970), pp.119-52
12 Bentley – Humanists and Holy Writ, p.135

Completed before Erasmus' edition, but not published until 1522, was the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, which comprised six folio volumes.[13] In this outstanding work, the first four volumes contain the Vulgate, flanked by the Hebrew original and the Greek Septuagint; the fifth volume present the Greek and Vulgate New Testaments in parallel columns. The main purpose of the manuscript annotations was to point out differences between the Greek New Testament and the Vulgate, but without suggesting as pointedly as had Valla that the Vulgate presented an inaccurate translation of the Greek. Indeed, in many places, the annotations sought to shield the Vulgate from criticism. From 1528 onwards, Robert I Estienne, the French royal printer, produced magnificent folio volumes, which contained the first effort to produce a critical edition of the Vulgate, using both the best printed editions including the Complutensian Polyglot, and various Parisian manuscripts; his marginalia, moreover, included a number of alternative readings derived from the Hebrew.[14]

Even after the effects of the Reformation were being felt more acutely throughout Europe, scholars on both sides of the divide continued to revise the Vulgate, rather than producing a new translation, out of respect for the place of the former in the church's life. It is less surprising that the Italian Benedictine abbot Isodoro Chiari should do this in 1542,[15] than that Conrad Pellican of Zürich should have used the Vulgate as the main text for his seven volumes of commentary of the Bible, which appeared between 1532 and 1539.[16] However, such works were compromises attacked from both sides. The traditionalists redoubled their defence of the authenticity and integrity of the Vulgate; the reformers looked down on the notion of revision as being half-hearted. It seemed reasonable to many to pursue the principles applied to the Vulgate and other editions of the Bible to their logical conclusion.

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[13] Ibid., pp.71-111

[14] Hall - 'Biblical Scholarship', pp.65-8. On Estienne, see Elizabeth Armstrong - Robert Estienne: Royal Printer. An Historical Study of the Elder Stephanus (Cambridge, 1954)

[15] On Chiari, see Chapter two above.

[16] See Christoph Zürcher – Konrad Pellikans Wirken in Zürich 1526-1556 (Zürich, 1975), pp.85-122

The obvious alternative, and the second form which efforts at Biblical scholarship in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries took, was the provision of an entirely new translation. In fact, this movement ran largely in parallel with the one described above. Only a few years after Valla's first efforts, Gianozzo Manetti, with papal encouragement, translated both the Psalter and the New Testament from their original tongues.[17] The accuracy of the Greek base-text was a problem for the New Testament; indeed a sound Greek text would not be established until the nineteenth century.[18] By contrast, the Hebrew text had been well preserved. In 1524-5, Daniel Bomberg had produced a magnificent Hebrew Bible.[19] Nonetheless, the very concept of producing an alternative to the Vulgate was perhaps even more revolutionary than Valla's efforts to revise it. The sixteenth century, in particular, saw an explosion of new translations of the Scriptures; indeed, such were far more common than revisions of the Vulgate.

Yet in all of this, the position of the Vulgate merits further consideration. It had been the text used by the Church for over 1000 years, and its authority can hardly be overstated. This explains why scholars continued to seek to revise that text for as long as they did; having established that it was an imperfect text, it would have been simpler, in some ways, to embark upon a fresh translation, using the Vulgate only as one of several sources. Its pre-eminence was such, however, that it was given far more respected a treatment than any other version. That Catholics should do so is perhaps less surprising. In 1592, there did appear the Sixto-Clementine revision of the Vulgate; yet the decision of Trent confirmed for Catholics the traditional place of the Vulgate for another four centuries.[20]

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[17] Charles Trinkaus – In Our Image and Likeness. Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought, vol. 2, p.573 ff.
[18] Luther A. Wiegle - 'English Versions Since 1611' in Greenslade (Ed.) - Cambridge History of the Bible, p.368 ff.
[19] Hamilton – 'Humanists and the Bible', p.113
[20] See Louis B. Pascoe - 'The Council of Trent and Bible Study: Humanism and Scripture' in CHR 52 (1966), pp.18-38

More surprising, though, is that, as we have just seen, even following the Reformation, when it came to be regarded more as a text of the Catholic church, certain Protestant scholars like Pellican still based their translations upon it. Even for those Protestants who sought to create their own translation, it is evident that the Vulgate remained a crucial point of reference. Indeed, it is particularly striking that in as late as 1565, Beza felt he had to follow Erasmus and Lefèvre in questioning Jerome's authorship of the Vulgate in order to justify his correction of that text.[21] In this context, then, it is less remarkable that in Tremellius' New Testament edition of 1569, he should include the Vulgate version of the New Testament alongside his own translation, made from the Syriac.

Clearly, therefore, the notion of seeing the Vulgate as an exclusively Catholic text in the sixteenth century is simplistic; it originated in the Christian heritage shared by the Catholic and Protestant faiths. Underlying all the translation efforts of the sixteenth century, Protestant and Catholic, was the desire to achieve the most accurate rendering of the Scriptures, as this was felt to be the best means of bringing people closer to the divine message, and also the means by which the reform of Christendom would be achieved. While the steps which followed on from the creation of, especially Protestant, rival texts to the Vulgate, including the provision of vernacular translations, and the use of these new translations for dogmatic and confessional purposes may have been a feature of the sixteenth century (and have perhaps dominated the historical writing on that period)[22], the first step had not been completed. Some scholars, like Tremellius, continued to pursue this aim.

Given all the various factors which were involved, this was something of a Sisyphian task. There were disagreements relating to every element of the process of textual

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21 I am grateful to Irena Backus for bringing this fact to my attention.

22 Luther must himself accept much of the responsibility for this. He supported his advocacy of the principle of sola scriptura by rapidly translating himself a German version of first the New Testament and then the Old Testament, through the 1520s and early 1530s. The interpretative questions that this raised made later Protestant reformers more cautious in their attitudes towards the Scriptures in the vernacular, but still tended to regard their production as advantageous.

transmission, by which the original sources had come down to the manuscripts and versions extant in the sixteenth century. The relative merits, and chronological order, of the various traditions were disputed. Such difficulties were then compounded by disagreements over the nature of the translations which were produced. In particular, there was no consensus as to whether a direct, highly literal, or a more elegant, sense translation was preferable, and better represented the original texts.[23] Consequently, this was a gradual development, into which every discovery, both in terms of new manuscripts, and increased subtlety of understanding, had to be added. The subjectivity on matters of style, moreover, meant that this was a process whose end was, ultimately, unachievable. Perhaps partly as a result, the work of those who continued to pursue this end, after those who had made such ground-breaking steps in the world of biblical scholarship, has generally been overshadowed in the historical literature.[24]

Tremellius' Bible in Scholarship, 1650-2000

Yet it would appear that this neglect is not a purely twentieth-century phenomenon. As we will see, biblical scholars and other writers and learned men were certainly ready to draw on Tremellius' translation and commentary at the end of the sixteenth and into the seventeenth centuries; nonetheless, the first serious critical responses to this work did not occur until the second half of the seventeenth century. It is the intention of the following section to consider briefly the historiography relating to Tremellius' translations, from the seventeenth through to the twentieth centuries. At this point, it should perhaps be noted that, even in this 350-year period, the number of monographs

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[23] Pagnini and Münster are among the clearest examples of the highly literal approach to the Scriptures; the Zürich Bible and the translation of Sebastian Castellio both preferred to present the Biblical text as a literary masterpiece. The latter two works veer more frequently from the text of the original Hebrew, but the results display a more advanced Latin style. On Castellio's translation, see especially Hans R. Guggisberg - Sebastian Castellio 1515-1563. Humanist and Defender of Religious Toleration in a Confessional Age trans. and ed. Bruce Gordon (forthcoming), chapter 4

[24] See the contributions on German, Italian, French, Dutch, Spanish, East-Central European and Scandinavian versions produced in the sixteenth century in 'Continental Versions to c.1600' in Greenslade (Ed.) - Cambridge history of the Bible, pp.94-140, and Greenslade's own article 'English Versions of the Bible, 1525-1611' in Ibid., pp.141-74

and articles, even including those whose focus is specifically on Tremellius, which go beyond merely recording the publication details of the first editions, and perhaps stating the importance of the work as a whole, is small. Yet in order to come to a proper appreciation of the neglect to which Tremellius' Bible has been subjected, it is important not to pass over them in silence: they help to build up a picture where the importance of these works has consistently been appreciated, but where the detailed study which they require has not been carried out. In addition, it should be noted that while some commentators make a distinction between Tremellius Old Testament and New Testament, others tend to refer to his Old Testament and his biblical scholarship as a whole almost interchangeably.

Matthew Pool's Synopsis Criticorum Aliorumque Scripturae Interpretum, appeared in London in 1669.[25] In his Preface to the Reader, Pool discusses briefly the various versions of the Bible that he has used in the composition of his work, including those of Sancte Pagnini, Münster, Castellio and Ossiander. About Tremellius' translation he writes:

> Et licet nonnullae Versiones propius in quibusdam locis ab Hebraeis absint, nonnullae etiam sensum & dilucidius & elegantius reddunt; consideratis tamen & compositis omnibus ad accuratam Versionem requisitis, congruentia cum Textu authentico usque ad ipsos accentus, quos alii plerumque negligunt, sensu non sine magno acumine eruto, & maxima fide reddito, verbis, si non semper politissimus, at plerumque propriis & commodis, difficilibus locis diligentius expensis, doctius ac solidue expeditis.[26]

Richard Simon, the famous Catholic biblical scholar, in his Historia Critica Veteris Testamenti, of 1681, considers Tremellius' version in a chapter dealing with the various Protestant Latin versions.[27] Simon begins by noting that Tremellius and Junius' translation was well-received ("quorum Latina versio magni aestimata fuit a

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[25] Matthew Pool - Synopsis Criticorum Aliorumque Scripturae Interpretum (London, 1669)
[26] Ibid., p.7
[27] Richard Simon - Historia Critica Veteris Testamenti, Sive Historia Textus Hebraici a Mose ad nostra usque Tempora Authore R. P. Richardo Simone, Presbitero Congreg. Oratoriae E. Gallico in Latinum verso (Paris, 1681), Book 2, Ch. 25: "De Latinis Protestantium versionibus".

Protestantibus ab initio, praesertim in Anglia"). He then records the opinion of Drusius who, although he considered the authors very learned and wise ("scriptores eruditissimos & sapientissimos"), was very critical of many parts of their translation ("in multis locis illam damnare non dubitavit"). However, this apparently caused much trouble for Drusius on account of the many supporters of Tremellius. Simon then goes on to record the criticism of Constantijn L'Empereur, the Professor of Hebrew and Theology at Leiden, between 1634 and 1648.[28]

Simon himself draws attention to a couple of particular areas where he feels that Tremellius' translation is deficient. First, he notes that Tremellius uses the relative pronoun everywhere ("ubique"), even though such does not exist in Hebrew ("etsi in Hebraeo desint"). He goes on to note that pronouns are also overused in the translation: "Ejusmodi tamen pronominibus ejus versio scatet". Simon attributes this stylistic 'vitia' to the influence of Beza, who does the same in his translation of the New Testament. Secondly, Simon argues that certain words which have been added with the intention of making greater sense of the text, in fact have the effect of introducing errors. Here Simon quotes an example from Genesis 2.6 where Tremellius has replaced "& vapor" with "aut vapor", a correction he defends in an accompanying note: "observatur particulam conjunctivam Hebraeam per disjunctivam quoque verti posse". Simon does not agree, insisting: "Hic ut & alibi saepe hallucinati sunt".

Thomas-Pope Blount's work, which first appeared in 1690, and was reprinted in 1710, added little to the critical treatment of Tremellius' biblical writings, but it did consolidate what had been written.[29] In his entry on Tremellius, Blount quotes a number of earlier authors on the subject of Tremellius' Bible. He quotes in full the

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[28] On this, see also Peter T. van Rooden - Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies in the Seventeenth Century: Constantijn L'Empereur (1591-1648) Professor of Hebrew and Theology at Leiden (London, New York, Copenhagen, Cologne, 1989), p.222. Van Rooden mentions the "remarkable severity" of L'Empereur's criticism of Tremellius and Junius' translation in an afterword, as well as Simon's use of this in his judgement of their translation.

[29] Thomas-Pope Blount - Censura Celebriorum Authorum: sive Tractatus in quo Varia Virorum Doctorum de Clarissimis cujusque Seculi Scriptoribus judicia traduntur... Thomas-Pope Blount (London, 1690)

passages from Matthew Pool and Richard Simon (the latter in the French version) discussed above. He also quotes the very critical judgement of Joseph Scaliger:

> Tremellius estoit un homme mediocrement docte en Hebreu. Erat Judaeus Baptizatus Ferrariensis: il a appris son Hebreu avec les Chrestiens. Verterat bene Biblia. Adjunctus & datus est ab Ecclesia Junius, pro more, cum vertuntur Biblia, adjunguntur semper quidam: Tremellius obiit, Junius absolvit; & quando vult diffentire à praeceptore suo, maxime ridiculus est.[30]

Blount also quotes two sources discussing the allegation that Tremellius' translation of the Syriac New Testament was plagiarised, discussed more fully below.

At the start of the eighteenth century, Jacobus Le Long provided the first effort to catalogue the various editions of the Tremellius Bibles, within a broader project of recording as many editions and versions of the Scriptures as he could find.[31] In all, he mentions 22 separate editions: this is more than virtually all other writers, before and since, have mentioned; it is, however, more than ten short of the list which forms Appendix 4. Of course, one must remember that Le Long's work appeared between the two final editions of Tremellius' Bible, which were published in 1703 and 1715. Le Long provides varying amounts of largely descriptive information concerning the different editions; for all but the 1579 edition, this material is drawn exclusively from the Bibles themselves. Only on this first edition does he incorporate the works of other writers. With the exception of the inclusion of the opinions of Richard Simon, moreover, this material deals mostly with the circumstances of the production of this Bible.

Antoine Teissier also revisits many of the older judgements in his Les Eloges des Hommes Savans, of 1715.[32] Following a short biographical article on Tremellius, he

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[30] On Scaliger see Anthony Grafton - Joseph Scaliger. A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship (Oxford, 1983)

[31] Jacobus Le Long - Bibliotheca Sacra, seu Syllabus omnium ferme Sacrae Scripturae, editionem ac versionem (Lipsiae, 1709), pp.703-15

[32] Antoine Teissier - Les Eloges des Hommes Savans, Tiréz de l'Histoire de M. de Thou, avec des Additions, contenant l'Abbrégé de leur Vie, le Jugement & le Catalogue de leurs Ouvrages (Leiden,

provides quite a balanced assessment of his subject's biblical scholarship. He records, for instance, the generally favourable judgements of Louvain and Douai, as well as Simon's claim that the most learned Protestants did not regard it highly.[33] Teissier also notes the quite manifest public appeal of Tremellius' translation. Recording the claims that Tremellius was not in fact responsible for the New Testament translation, Teissier goes on to remark that the Tremellius-Junius version "a été reçue avec un grand applaudissement par les Eglises Réformées, & sera toûjours préferée à toutes les autres par les Juges équitables".[34] Teissier then concludes with the full transcript of Simon's assessment of Tremellius' Old Testament, and his criticisms, but, in a note, takes issue with one of these. He writes:

> ... il n'est pas vrai, avec la permission, qu'il n'y ait rien dans le Texte Hebreu qui réponde au pronom hanc, puis-qu'il y a la lettre ה, que les Hébreux nomment 'he notitiae' ou 'he demonstratif' & que les Savans ont traduit en une infinité d'endroits par 'hic', 'haec', 'hac', quoi-que j'avoue qu'il n'est pas nécessaire de l'exprimer dans l'endroit dont il s'agit. D'ailleurs, ce n'est pas ici un pronom 'relatif', comme le dit Mr. Simon, mais 'démonstratif'.[35]

Christopher Wolf, in his article on Tremellius which appeared shortly after Teissier's, simply gathers together the existing sources, most of which have been discussed above.[36] Johann Fabricius, also writing in the same decade, provides quite a lengthy treatment of Tremellius' Bible.[37] After a brief consideration of the publishing details of the work, and the revisions of Junius, which Fabricius feels improved it, since "dictionem esse nimium ebraizantem, vocesque quasdam satis audacter textui insertas; undem & merito saepe castigata sit a Iano Drusius & Const[antin] l'Empereur",[38] he provides over 100 examples, drawn from throughout the Old and New Testament of

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1715), vol. III, pp.178-82

[33] Ibid., p.179; on the reception of Tremellius' Bible by the Index, see below.

[34] Ibid., p.180

[35] Ibid., p.181

[36] Christopher Wolf - Bibliotheca Hebraea, sive Notitia tum auctorum Hebr. cujuscunque aetatis, tum scriptorum, quae vel hebraice primum exarata vel ab aliis conversa sunt, ad nostram aetatem deducta (3 vols., Hamburg and Lipsiae, 1715), vol. 1, pp.952-3

[37] Johann Albert Fabricius - Historiae Bibliothecae Fabricianae, (Hamburg, 1719), vol. iii, pp.323-35

[38] Ibid., p.324

corrections to the Tremellius translation, usually accompanied by a further biblical reference or some other kind of justification.

Burcard Struvens, in his church history of the Palatinate, spends more time than many on a discussion of Tremellius' Bible.[39] However, his account adds nothing new, and is, in any case, wholly descriptive, explaining among other things, the context in which the work was written, its format, the authorship of the various parts, its first printing, and its warm reception. R. P. Niceron, writing at around the middle of the eighteenth century, includes Tremellius in his catalogue of those who formed the republic of letters and their works.[40] He provides full publication details of both Testaments, claiming also that the Old Testament "fut faite par les ordres de l'Electeur Palatin".[41] In addition, he relates the story of the questioned authorship of the New Testament, but has no critical comments to make on either.

There is then a considerable gap until the second quarter of the nineteenth century, before the next consideration of Tremellius' Bible of any significance. The entry on Tremellius in the Biographie Universelle, treats his New and Old Testaments as the second and third items in his list of works[42]. The article relates the familiar story about Tremellius being accused of plagiarising de la Boderie's translation of the Syriac New Testament. Each part of the Old Testament is then described, before the role of Junius as reviser of the work after Tremellius' death, is considered. The article concludes with the critical opinions of Drusius, L'Empereur and Simon, the last of whom is quoted at length.

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[39] Burcard Gotthelf Struvens - Ausführlicher Bericht von der Pfalzischen Kirchen-Historie. In sich fassend die verschiedenen Religious-Veranderungen und den Kirchen-Stadt in der Chur-Pfalz... mit nothingen Anmerckungen... Documenten und publiquen Acten erläutert wurden etc. (Frankfurt, 1721), p.262

[40] R. P. Niceron - Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la république des lettres, avec un catalogue raissonné de leurs Ouvrages, vol. 40 (Paris, 1739), pp.102-7

[41] Ibid., p.106

[42] 'Tremellius (Emanuel)' in Biographie Universelle, Ancienne et Moderne, ou Histoire, par ordre alphabétique, de la vie publique et privée de tous les hommes qui ne sont fait remarquer par leurs écrits, leurs actions, leurs talents, leurs vertus et leurs crimes, vol.64 (Paris, 1826), pp.468-9

The second half of the nineteenth century saw several treatments of Tremellius' Bible appear. C. H. Cooper and T. Cooper, in their Athenae Cantabrigienses consider the New and Old Testaments as items seven and nine, respectively, in their list of his works.[43] The entry for his Old Testament again itemises the different parts of that work, and considers the various editions to appear through the 1580s, and which New Testament translation(s) were included with each. It ends with the mention of a handful of later editions of the Bible. Butters, in his biography of 1859 devotes perhaps the most space of any writer to Tremellius' biblical translations.[44] In so doing, however, he records neither previous critical opinions, nor adds his own reaction. Rather, he quotes extensively from Tremellius' prefaces to both Testaments, in an attempt to convey what it was that his subject was seeking to do in the production of these two works. The result is, inevitably, a highly sympathetic treatment, which brought to a wider audience some of the relevant primary materials, but which stopped short of historical criticism. Butters deals only with the first edition of these works, and their dedicatees, although he does also mention the well-thumbed version of the Old Testament which he found in the library of the Zweibrücken Academy.

Christian Kalkar, in his work on the impact of Jews on Christianity, devotes several pages to Tremellius, and as part of this, he mentions his Biblical translation.[45] He remarks that, with Junius, Tremellius produced a Latin translation of the Old Testament with short annotations, and that this was his last work. Kalkar also remarks that Junius both added a translation of the Apocrypha to this work, and subsequently made alterations to Tremellius' original translation.[46] In his biography of 1887, Wilhelm Becker considers together those works which Tremellius produced while in Heidelberg.[47] The seventh and final of these is his Latin translation of the Old

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[43]Charles Henry Cooper and Thomson Cooper - Athenae Cantabrigienses (Cambridge and London, 1858), vol. 1, pp.425-6
[44]Butters, pp.31-4
[45]Christian A. H. Kalkar - Israel und die Kirche Geschichtlichen Veberblick der Bekehrungen der Juden zum Christenthums in allen Jahrhunderten (Hamburg, 1869), pp.73-6
[46]Ibid., p.75
[47]Becker, pp.34-8

Testament. After a brief biographical sketch of Tremellius' collaborator, Junius, Becker goes on to describe the various parts of the Bible, and their dedicatees, before mentioning a number of the most significant editions to be produced.[48]

Just before the end of the century, Carlyle's article in The Dictionary of National Biography appeared.[49] Again, this work largely synthesises what had already been said about Tremellius' Bible translations. Rather inexplicably, Carlyle claims that the translation was "accomplished during his residence at Metz".[50] He gives a positive assessment, referring both to the general approval of the reformers, and to the qualified approval of the universities of Douai and Louvain, presumably referring to the New Testament. Without any real reason, he limits Junius' share in the work to the translation of the Apocrypha. Thereafter, he goes on to list briefly some of the most noteworthy editions of the Bible.

J. I. Mombert, in his work on English Bibles, from the start of the twentieth century, examines the influence of Tremellius' translation on the Authorised Version of 1611.[51] For instance, he evaluates the relative influences of the translations of Luther and Tremellius, and of the Vulgate on the translations of the Hagiographa on the 1611 translation.[52] Then, Mombert considers the influence of the Vulgate and the Tremellius-Junius version on the Apocrypha of that later work.[53] In both cases, the various versions are placed alongside each other, in parallel columns, for ease of comparison. More generally, Mombert demonstrates that the Tremellius edition of the Bible was one of several works which were a key influence on this most famous of English language Bibles.

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48 Ibid., pp.37-8
49 Carlyle, pp.186-7
50 Ibid., p.187
51 Rev J. I. Mombert - English Versions of the Bible. A Handbook with Copius Examples Illustrating the Ancestry and Relationship of the Several Versions, and Comparative Tables (London, 1907), p.376 ff.
52 Ibid., p.377ff.
53 Ibid., p.379ff

Newman, in his monograph dealing with the Jewish influence on Christian reform movements, refers at various points to Tremellius' Bible translation.[54] For example, drawing on Mombert, he mentions the "signal influence" which Tremellius' translation exerted on the Authorised Version, particularly in the Hagiographa and the Apocrypha.[55] Newman notes Tremellius' influence on several passages of the Bishops' Bible,[56] before asserting "On the Continent the works of Tremellius were valuable in the campaign against the Vulgate, and prepared the way for the vernacular versions which accompanied the reform movements in various European countries".[57] Later, he mentions that Tremellius "published a Latin version of the Hebrew Bible more truly representative of the original text than the Vulgate".[58]

In his multi-volumed La France Protestante, Haag provides a longer than average treatment of Tremellius' Bible in the discussion of works which follows the short biographical article.[59] He writes:

> Trente éditions pour le moins prouvent combien cette version fut bien accueillie. Au jugement de Dupin, de toutes les traductions de la Bible faites par des Protestants, il n'y en a pas de plus exacte que celle de Trémellius. Le traducteur, en effet, s'était proposé de rester aussi près que possible du texte, et il a tenu si fidèlement sa parole qu'à l'exception du quelques endroits, où il rend des hébraismes de la manière la plus heureuse, on peut lui reprocher de s'être attaché trop servilement à la lettre. Un autre reproche également mérité, c'est celui d'avoir surchargé le texte de gloses au moins inutiles, qui annoncent une grande prédilection pour les rabbins. Sa traduction est donc exacte, mais elle n'est pas élégante; quelquefois même elle manque de clarté.[60]

They conclude by remarking that Junius altered the translations following Tremellius' death with the intention of improving them, but that his changes were rather problematic.

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54 Louis Israel Newman - Jewish Influence on Christian-Reform Movements, Columbia University Oriental Studies, vol. XXIII (New York, 1925)
55 Ibid., p.101
56 e.g. on Isaiah 53.2 & 9
57 Ibid., p.101
58 Ibid., p.626
59 'Trémellius (Emmanuel)' in E. & E. Haag - La France Protestante, vol. ix, pp.418-9
60 Ibid., p.419

In a lengthy article on the biblical scholarship to emerge out of the sixteenth century, Basil Hall considers the work of Tremellius, against the background of earlier Latin versions.[61] After remarking on the success of the Bible, especially amongst Reformed Protestants, and quick biographical sketches of Tremellius and Junius, Hall goes on to offer a number of critical comments. He writes: "This version turned away from the method of Castellio to the older more literal method of Münster, and sought to convey the Hebrew sense and idiom without sacrificing Latin style... The hebraizing of the Latin biblical names, the use of Mosche for Moses, for example, was defended".[62] Hall concludes by noting that, in common with most Latin versions, there was no direct information given about the Hebrew version which Tremellius had used in the production of his translation, while the marginal annotations contained alternative renderings of the Hebrew; the value of Tremellius' reading tends to be assumed rather than argued.

Lloyd Jones, in his monograph on the use of Hebrew in sixteenth-century England, considers Tremellius' version of the Bible as the last of four continental Latin versions which had an impact on Hebrew studies in England.[63] Again following a biographical account, Jones turns his attention to Tremellius' Old Testament. He writes: "A comparison of this version, published at Frankfurt in 1579, with the Vulgate shows how far removed Tremellius' translation was from that which had by now been authorised by the Church of Rome".[64] Thereafter, Jones provides three instances where Tremellius draws on the rabbinic explanation of difficult words and phrases. For example, he notes, on Daniel 1.11, that Daniel is reported to have spoken to 'ha meltsar' and requested a special diet for himself and his companions. The ancient versions of the

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61 Basil Hall - 'Biblical Scholarship: Editions and Commentaries' in S. L. Greenslade (Ed.) - The Cambridge History of the Bible, vol. III. The West from the Reformation to the Present Day (Cambridge, 1963), pp.38-93
62 Ibid., pp.72-3
63 G. Lloyd Jones - The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language (Manchester, 1983) pp.50-2
64 Ibid., p.51

Bible, Jerome, and the majority of sixteenth-century translators, including Pagnini, Münster and Leo Jud, interpreted this word, which only appears in the Book of Daniel, as a proper name. However, the mediaeval Jewish commentators, including Rashi, Ibn Ezra and Gersonides, realised that this word described an office, and was not a name. Rashi, for instance, noted that the 'meltsar' was the official responsible for 'setting out the portions and bowls' in the royal household. Tremellius is clearly following this tradition when he renders the word as 'promo' (butler); the Authorised Version then draws on him, putting 'steward' in the margin.[65] Jones' conclusion is balanced but positive overall: "Although Tremellius' version was not universally acclaimed, there is no question that the scholarship of its translators was greatly respected... He was a prolific writer, and his translation of the Bible was received by Protestants with much approbation".[66]

The Syriac New Testament

In relation to Tremellius' edition of the New Testament, there is a further issue to bear in mind. His translation into Latin was the first to be made from Syriac; all previous ones had been made from Greek.[67] Indeed, in a sense, Tremellius was the pioneering figure in what became a significant development in the biblical scholarship of the sixteenth century. The Syriac text of the New Testament had only been published in 1555, but both Catholics and Protestants of the period considered it so important a text that seven editions had appeared by 1600, while another five were produced in the seventeenth century. A further edition was published in 1709, but that was the only one in the eighteenth century.[68] Clearly there was something of a vogue for this text, which stretched for a period of over 150 years.

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[65]Jones provides similar cases where Tremellius' translation is different from his sixteenth-century predecessors, but in keeping with the rabbinic tradition, in the translation of 'hatsda' at Daniel 3.14 and 'pas' at Daniel 5.5, Ibid., pp.51-2

[66]Ibid., p.52

[67]See Bentley - Humanists and Holy Writ

[68]Anon. - 'The Printed Editions of the Syriac New Testament' in The Church Quarterly Review 26

Knowledge of Syriac had only come to Europe at the start of the sixteenth century. When the fifth Lateran Council was sitting (1513-15), the Maronite Patriarch, Simeon, sent three of his clergy to represent him. One of these Maronites asked permission to celebrate a Syriac Mass in a Roman Church, in the Syriac language. Teseo Ambrogio, a priest of the Lateran congregation was then given the task of assessing the Maronite's orthodoxy, and through the intervention of a learned Jew was instructed in Syriac.[69] His reputation as an Orientalist attracted a young German, Johann Albert Widmanstadt, to whom Ambrogio passed on his copy of the Gospels in Syriac.[70] As we will see in more detail below, it was this man, Widmanstadt, who brought to fruition the Editio Princeps of the Syriac New Testament, which appeared in Vienna in 1555, the first book ever printed in that language.[71]

Of course, the simple appearance of this work gives part of the reason why Tremellius should have made his Latin translation of it when he did. It would not really have been possible before this date.[72] Because Syriac was such a rare language, it made sense that Tremellius, one of the few people with the requisite skills, should translate it into Latin and thereby bring the text to a substantially wider audience. Yet there was more to it than simply translating a text because it could not be read in its original form. It had a particular set of values. In the first place, it was another version of the Scriptures, and therefore had the potential to shed new light on existing materials, through comparative study.

More specifically, however, for some time, the Syriac tradition was considered to be older, and therefore more authoritative, than the versions produced out of the Greek tradition. The Peschitta, the Syriac translation of the Old Testament made in the second

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(1888), p.257
[69] Ibid., pp.262-3
[70] Ibid., p.264
[71] Ibid., p.269-72
[72] As we will see below, Tremellius also used a manuscript of this text which he found in Heidelberg in the production of his translation, but he could not have encountered this until the 1560s either.

century AD was, in several books, too heavily influenced by the Greek Septuagint to be of much value for critical purposes, but the versions of the New Testament were thought to reflect an earlier version than any to which Jerome had had access.[73] This, in turn, had significant implications as regards the Vulgate. In producing a translation from this new Syriac edition, rather than the Greek tradition which Jerome had used, Tremellius was in some ways staking a claim to have produced a more authentic rendition of the Scriptures. In the preface to the work he does not enunciate such a bold assertion himself (it was hardly in his nature), but academics of the period would undoubtedly have appreciated the implications of what he had done. Of course, as has already been suggested, the Syriac tradition enjoyed only a century or so when such claims to superiority were indulged. Ultimately, it was universally accepted that the Syriac tradition was in fact derived from the Greek. Nonetheless, through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Tremellius' translation, especially as the first Latin version to be made, was regarded as holding a crucial position in the developing biblical scholarship of the early modern period; in a very real sense, the work that he was doing could be considered as ground-breaking.

Publishing History

The 1569 polyglot edition is entitled: H KAINH ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. TESTAMENTUM NOVVM. הַיְתִיקָא חַדְתָא.[74] It was printed in conjunction with Tremellius' Chaldaean and Syriac grammar; these were bound together in two folio volumes.[75] Tremellius'

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[73] Alastair Hamilton – 'Humanists and the Bible', p.108

[74] Immanuel Tremellius - H KAINH ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. TESTAMENTUM NOVVM. הַיְתִיקָא חַדְתָא Est autem interpretatio syriaca novi Testamenti, Hebraeis Typis Descripta, Plerisque etiam locis emendata. Eadem Latino Sermone Reddita. (Geneva, 1569)

[75] In fact, there are indications that this work was printed in various formats in 1569. In addition to the folio edition, it also seems to have been issued in quarto and octavo formats. The Catalogue of the Advocates' Library and the N.U.C. seem to be the only sources for 8vo from the 26 copies in my list – a total of 8, including all 7 N.U.C. are the same format. Is it possible that they are actually the same format – for three separate editions in the same year would seem excessive. Carlyle notes that Tremellius' Grammatica Chaldaea et Syra was "published both separately in octavo and with his New Testament in folio", although he mistakenly attributes both to Paris. The N.U.C. indicates that Tremellius Grammatica is bound with Chevalier's Rudimenta Hebraicae Linguae, of 1567.

edition of the New Testament contains four versions of the New Testament, arranged in columns across two pages.[76] From left to right, these are, the Greek text, the Latin Vulgate, the Syriac Peschitta written in Hebrew characters, and finally Tremellius' own Latin translation of the Syriac. Each of these is then accompanied by a set of marginal notes. No Syriac text is given of 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude and Revelation, or indeed of the 'pericope de adultera' in John 8, as none of these exists in the Peschitta. This then leaves 22 books for which there is both the Syriac original and Tremellius' Latin translation. In later editions, where Tremellius' New Testament is the final volume of an entire Bible, however, the five so-called Catholic Epistles are included.

As already mentioned, this was the first Latin version of the New Testament to be made from the Syriac rather than the Greek text. However, allegations were made that Tremellius was not responsible for the work. Gilbert Genebrard, a theologian of the Sorbonne, was the most vocal of Tremellius' critics. In the Biographie Universelle, it is written that Genebrard "et quelques autres critiques" made these allegations, although the identity of the others remains unclear.[77] In an anonymous work of 1581, known as the Specularius contra Genebrardum, which was presumably written either by Tremellius himself, in the last few years of his life, or else by one of his close supporters, these allegations are addressed. Genebrard had alleged that the translation which Tremellius had published was in fact a plagiarised version of the translation which Gui Lefevre de la Boderie, or Guido Fabricius, had contributed to the Antwerp Polyglot.[78] This was the second of the great polyglots, following on from the Complutensian Polyglot of 1522. The languages represented in this polyglot were Hebrew, Chaldaean, Greek, Latin and Syriac. The general editor was Benedictus Arias (1527-98), called Montanus, one of the most learned oriental scholars of his time.[79]

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[76] Darlow and Moule, No.1421
[77] Biographie Universelle, Ancienne et Moderne - 'Tremellius (Emanuel)', in vol.46 (Paris, 1826), p.469
[78] Interestingly, Hall - 'Biblical Scholarship', p.55 suggests that Tremellius had already offered his services to Plantin by this point.
[79] Darlow and Moule, No.1422

The Specularius, which takes the form of a fictional dialogue between Genebrard and Tremellius, is intended to defend the latter against the charges of the former. While it is conceded that Tremellius and Fabricius did both use the same base text for their respective translations, namely the edition which Widmanstadt had published in Vienna in 1555, the work refers to simple matters of chronology as its main line of defence. Tremellius' version was printed in 1569; that of Fabricius did not appear for another three years. Although the eight volumes of the Antwerp Polyglot began to appear in 1569, the volume containing the Syriac version did not emerge until 1572.[80] It is therefore beyond question that Tremellius could not have had access to this work in its published form. It is also highly unlikely that he would have gained access to Fabricius' work before it went to press.

The work was published by Henricus Stephanus, or Henri Estienne, the son of the renowned Robert Estienne,[81] the printer of Francis I, and the brother of Francois Estienne.[82] Henri (1531-98) was a committed Calvinist. In addition to the pair of works by Tremellius, he published three editions of Theodore de Beza's folio New Testament, Antoine Chevallier's Hebrew alphabet and grammar (to which work Tremellius had written a prefatory letter), and George Buchanan's paraphrases of the 'Psalms'. In addition, he enjoyed a reputation for his exceptional prowess as a Greek scholar.

No location of publication is given, and this has led some authors, bibliographers and library cataloguers to assume that it appeared in Paris.[83] However, it is now generally accepted that the Estienne family had left France in 1555, and indeed that from 1558 Henri ran the family business as a whole from there; Robert died in 1559.[84] However,

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80 Volume 5 is dated February 1571; the work as a whole appeared in 1572.
81 See Armstrong – Robert Estienne
82 See Robert M. Kingdon – 'The Business Activities of Printers Henri and Francois Estienne' in G. Berthoud et al (Ed.) – Aspects de la Propaganda Religieuse (Geneva, 1957), pp.256-72
83 e.g. Cooper and Cooper – Athenae Cantabrigienses, pp.425-6. See also the entry for the 1569 New Testament in the Glasgow University Library Catalogue
84 Kingdon - 'Business Activities', p.260

as Kingdon has noted, the support of Ulrich Fugger of Augsburg, which had largely financed his first output for the first decade of his independent career, ceased in 1568, through the intervention of the rest of Ulrich's family.[85] Thus Henri was obliged to turn to other sources of sponsorship, just on the eve of his association with Tremellius. Nevertheless, it seems beyond doubt that Estienne was based firmly and exclusively in Geneva at this point. The notes to the entries describing the two copies of this work held in the British Library, London, suggest that the place of imprint, 'Genevae', appears to have been stamped in subsequently to the printing.[86]

It is perhaps helpful to recall where this publication falls in relation to Tremellius' career. Tremellius had come to Heidelberg in 1561, and, indeed, would remain there for sixteen years. The one major exception to this, however, was his six-month sojourn in England, which I have suggested occurred between early March and late August 1568.[87] During this period, Tremellius resided with his old friend, Matthew Parker, the Archbishop of Canterbury; at the same time, he was seemingly granted several audiences with Queen Elizabeth. These various facts, and the close bonds which they suggest, combined with the fact that Tremellius' visit to England occurred in the year immediately preceding the appearance of his New Testament, should make it less than surprising that these two figures were the recipients of his dedications to the two works which comprised this double volume. The New Testament is dedicated to Queen Elizabeth of England, and his Chaldaean and Syriac grammar is dedicated to Archbishop Matthew Parker.

The original edition of 1569, printed in Geneva, seems to have been exceptional. Thereafter, parts of the material which it contained were disseminated to the reading public in a number of forms. This work was almost immediately reprinted in Lyon in 1571, 'in Bibliopolio Salamandræ'. Also, according to Masch, a quarto edition of

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85 Kingdon - 'Business Activities', p.261
86 British Library online/ printed catalogue
87 See Chapter 1

Galatians, in Syriac and Latin, 'studio Tremellii' appeared in Geneva in 1570.[88] Tremellius' Latin version of the Syriac New Testament was reprinted along with the Syriac text, in a quarto edition published at Cothen in 1621.[89] This work was then immediately reprinted in 1622, in exactly the same form.[90] In fact, it would seem that these were the only occasions on which any versions of Tremellius' New Testament were issued, intended to be free-standing works. However, as we will see in the following chapter, this work was often appended to the translation of the Old Testament for which he and Franciscus Junius were responsible, and the translation of the Apocrypha made by Junius alone, so as to form a complete Bible.

Thus, while the 1569 edition is significant, both as being the first rendering of the Syriac New Testament into Latin, and as a piece of considerable comparative scholarship in its own right, one should be wary of exaggerating the extent of its impact beyond the scholarly community. Figures about press runs are generally speculative and hard to come by. Febvre and Martin suggest that numbers were generally between 1,000 and 1,500 copies for any given edition;[91] Plantin, among the best known and most successful printers of the second half of the sixteenth century, seems normally to have restricted himself to between 1,250 and 1,500 copies.[92] Similarly, Bennet quotes legislation made by the Stationers' Company in 1587, ordering print runs to be limited to 1,250 or 1,500.[93]

However, Bennet and Febvre and Martin both note that religious books generally, and Bibles specifically, could be exceptions to these figures. Tremellius' two volume folio

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88 Darlow and Moule no. 8949

89 Darlow and Moule no. 6152: [Syriac] Novum Domini nostri Jesu Christi Testamentum Syriace. Cum versione Latina [by Tremellius], ex diversis editionibus diligentissime recensitum. Accesserunt in fine notationes variantis lectiones, ex quinque impresso editionibus diligenter collectae a Martino Trostio, Cothenis Anhaltinorum, 1621

90 Darlow and Moule, no. 6153

91 Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin – The Coming of the Book. The Impact of Printing 1450-1800 (London and New York, 1958, 1998), pp.216-22

92 Febvre and Martin - Coming of the Book, p.219

93 H. S. Bennett – English Books and Readers. Vol. II 1558-1603 (Cambridge, 1965, 1989), p.298 Also Elisabeth Einstein – The Printing Press as an Agent of Change (Cambridge, 1979), p.333 and Leon Voet – The Golden Compasses: The Plantin Press (Amsterdam, 1969)

edition, though, may have been too scholarly a work to be certain of any wider an audience. The fact that it was a polyglot Bible, moreover, may have further reduced its marketability. By way of comparison, the Viennese edition of the Syriac New Testament, which had appeared in 1555, consisted of 1,000 copies, of which only 500 were retained for use in Europe.[94] There seems to be little ground for believing that the press run of 1569 exceeded 1,500 copies. The same should be said for the 1571 Lyon edition. As for the Cothen reprints of 1621 and 1622, the fact that the work was reprinted immediately would seem to indicate both a slightly uncertain printer regarding the work's market, initially, and then the subsequent discovery of a sufficient audience. These editions were quarto-sized, and contained less of the scholarly material of the editions just described. This may indeed explain why a supply of two editions could be envisaged. Even so, it is unlikely that one is looking at more than 3,000 copies emerging from Trostio's press, between these two editions.

Thus, while the scholarship of these four editions, and especially that of the earliest two, is undoubtedly significant, one should not lose sight of the fact that most readers came into contact with Tremellius' New Testament in a simpler form, and as part of a series of volumes containing the entire Bible. While it may, of course, have been possible to buy the volumes containing the New Testament separately, it was surely the intention of the various printers that it should form part of a larger set. It is on the material contained therein, above all, that I will therefore focus my attentions in the later part of this chapter. There are ten or so editions of the New Testament which form part of the larger set; in each of these, only Tremellius' Latin translation of the Syriac, and different sets of annotations, by Tremellius, and later by Junius, appear. Tremellius' Latin translation, then, was the only feature common to all the editions which I have described; the annotations from the earlier editions, before the intervention of Junius, will give the best indication of what his thoughts on that text were.

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[94] Darlow and Moule, vol. 4, p.1529

The form which Tremellius' New Testament could take still varied to some degree through its various editions. No New Testament accompanied the Old Testament and Apocrypha published in Frankfurt between 1575-9.[95] However, a quarto New Testament, dated 1580, did accompany the 1579 London edition of these. The New Testament, which is Tremellius' Latin translation of the Syriac alone, was printed by the Huguenot refugee, Thomas Vautrollier, while the Old Testament had been printed by Henry Middleton.[96] Both were printed for Christopher Barker, the royal printer, whose name appears frequently as the printer of English Bibles from 1576 on.[97] However, in Middleton's second quarto edition of this Bible printed in 1581,[98] Beza's translation of the New Testament from the Greek replaces Tremellius' translation from the Syriac; nevertheless, it still bears Vautrollier's imprint ("Excudebat T.V. Typographus, impensis C.B."). In Middleton's third quarto edition of the Bible, printed in 1585, both Tremellius' version from the Syriac and Beza's version from the Greek of the New Testament are given.[99] The two texts are printed in parallel columns, with Beza's version on the inside, and Tremellius' on the outside. In addition, there are marginal references, variants and notes.

In the 1590 edition, printed in Geneva for publishers at Hanover, the same format as the 1585 London edition seems to have been used, except that in this version, Junius revised the translation, and added new notes. J. Tornaesius edited the version and notes of Beza. In the annotations, the letter F. signifies the additions of Junius, while B. indicates the notes of Beza in the New Testament.[100] While Junius was responsible for another two revisions,[101] these variations have largely covered the different possibilities which were used. For a complete listing of the extant editions of Tremellius' New

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95 Darlow and Moule No. 6165
96 Darlow and Moule No. 6166:"Excudebat Henricus Middletonus, impensis C.B."
97 Darlow and Moule, vol. 3, p.952. See also the English section of this catalogue.
98 Darlow and Moule No. 6166
99 Darlow and Moule No. 6175: Testamenti Veteris... Apocryphi... quibus etiam adjunximus Novi Testamenti Libros ex sermone Syriaco ab eodem Tremellio, & ex Graeco a Theodoro Beza in Latinum conversos
100 Darlow and Moule No. 6182: "Secunda cura Francisci Junii"
101 "Tertia cura Francisci Junii", first printed Geneva, 1596; "Quarta cura Francisci Junii", first printed Hanover, 1603

Testament editions, see Appendix 4. The fact that these various editions of the New Testament appeared as individual volumes at the time, and that they often appear as separate entries in modern library catalogues would be some indication of how they could be regarded as free-standing works. However, as I have already mentioned, with the exception of the 1569, 1571, 1621 and 1622 editions, they all formed part of a larger series.

Sources

Tremellius' principal source for his version of the New Testament was the Syriac edition of that work which had appeared in Vienna fourteen years previously. As we have already seen, this was the work of a German scholar, Johannes Albertus Widmanstadius, or Johann Albrecht Widmanstadt (1506-59). In 1529, he had received a Syriac manuscript of the gospels from Teseo Ambrogio (1469-1540), an ecclesiastic of Pavia, who was, it would seem, the first European scholar to gain a knowledge of Syriac. Thereafter, Widmanstadt pursued the study of Syriac under Simeon, a Maronite bishop. A little more than twenty years later, by which time he had been made a Senator and Chancellor of Lower Austria by the King, and future Emperor Ferdinand I, Widmanstadt obtained the help of a Syrian priest called Moses, who had come to Europe as the legate of the Jacobite Patriarch at Mardin in Mesopotamia. He had brought with him from the East a Syriac manuscript of the New Testament; this version formed part of what is known as the Peschitta.[102] Ferdinand undertook to bear the expense of printing, and Moses was retained at a generous salary to oversee the work, which Widmanstadt pursued whenever not busy with affairs of state.

To print this New Testament, especially delicate and distinctive typefaces were prepared under the direction of the Frenchman Guillaume Postel, who apparently imitated the

102 'Peschitta' or 'Peshitta' literally means 'simple'.

Syriac handwriting of Moses of Mardin. The printer was Michael Cymbermannus, or Zimmermann. The full edition appeared in 1555.[103] As mentioned above, the Peschitta omits the four shorter Catholic Epistles – 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Jude – and the Revelation, as well as the 'pericope de adultera' and the 'comma Johanneum'. In addition, according to Masch, a few verses are omitted, either through the editor's carelessness, or because they were not found in the manuscript(s) from which the text was printed.[104] In the order of books, the Pauline Epistles precede the Acts of the Apostles.

In the Latin dedication and epilogue, Widmanstadt recounts with satisfaction the progress and completion of the task, which he trusts may benefit the Eastern church and promote the reunion of Christendom. According to Nestle, Widmanstadt's first edition of the Syriac Peschitta New Testament is still the best edition of the text.[105] Hamilton concurs in his praise of this work when he writes: "Widmanstetter thus made a major contribution to biblical scholarship when he published his edition of the Syriac New Testament in Vienna in 1555".[106] Widmanstadt's edition consisted of 1,000 copies, of which 500 were retained for use in Europe, while 300 were intended for the Patriarch of Antioch and the Maronite Patriarch, and 200 were entrusted to Moses to carry back with him to Mesopotamia. It would seem, however, that Moses eventually sent the books elsewhere. Interestingly enough, Widmanstadt's small Syriac primer (1555-6), which includes the Lord's Prayer and the Magnificat, is sometimes found appended to his edition of the New Testament; it was printed uniformly with it at the same press.[107]

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103 ...Liber Sancrosancti Evangelii De Iesu Christo Domino & Deo nostro. Reliqua hoc Codice comprehensa pagina proxima indicabit. Div. Ferdinandi rom. Imperatoris designati iussu & liberalitate, characteribus & lingua Syra, Iesu Christo vernacula, Diuino ipsius ore c(o)secrata, et a Ioh. Ev(a)gelista Hebraica dicta, Scriptorio Prelo dilig(e)ter Expressa... Michael Cymbermannus; in urbe Vienna 1555, 4to

104 Darlow and Moule, vol.4, p.1529

105 quoted Darlow and Moule, vol. 4, p.1529

106 Hamilton - 'Humanists and the Bible', p.108

107 ...Syriacae linguae... prima elementa..., described in Darlow and Moule, vol. 4, p.1530. The title is dated 21 November 1555, and the colophon is dated February 1556

In fact, therefore, Tremellius version of 1569 was only the second edition of the Syriac New Testament to appear from the press, and the first Latin rendering of that text. As has been mentioned above, he only just pre-empted the fifth volume of the Antwerp Polyglot, which included de la Boderie's edition of the Syriac text, and which appeared in 1571. As Darlow and Moule comment, the appearance of Tremellius' work in 1569 "shows how quickly the Reformers discerned the importance of the Syriac version".[108] Moreover, they remark that, although the Syriac version in this edition was printed in Hebrew characters, for lack of a Syriac type, "it represents an advance on Widmanstadt's text, in that Tremellius attempted to give the vocalisation fully".[109]

In addition to this, Tremellius collated a Syriac manuscript, which he found in the Elector Palatine's Library at Heidelberg, for his text.[110] He refers to this in the preface: "Cuius quidem rei satis illustria passim edidimus documenta ex longe antiquissimo & optimo codice manuscripto, quem illustrissimi & piissimi principis Friderici III, electoris Palatini, domini mei clementissimi, bibliotheca nobis suppeditavit".[111] He also refers to this manuscript at various occasions in the marginalia which accompany his translation from the Syriac. For instance, in his annotations on Hebrews, Tremellius refers to the "codice manuscripto antiquissimo illustrissimi principis electoris Palatini",[112] and later describes it as the "manuscriptus codex Heidelbergensis".[113] Still further on, he calls it the "Syro manuscripto Heydelbergensis [sic]".[114] This manuscript has escaped the identification of most commentators, both because Tremellius is relatively vague about it, and also because it did not remain in Heidelberg; however, it has been positively identified as a manuscript which is now held in the Vatican.[115]

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108 Darlow and Moule, vol. 4, p.1530
109 Ibid., p.1530
110 c.f. de la Boderie corrected Widmanstadt's text with the help of a different Syriac manuscript which is now preserved in Leiden University Library. See Darlow and Moule, vol.4, p.1531
111 Tremellius - Novum Testamentum, Preface, p.4v.
112 Heb. Ch.2, n.4 (2.9) N.B. References to Tremellius' annotations on the biblical text will give the number of the note first, followed by the chapter of the biblical book to which they refer.
113 Heb. Ch.2, n.8 (2.14)
114 Heb. Ch.11, n.16 (11.15)
115 I am grateful to Robert Wilkinson who passed on this information on to me, and who has discussed

The relationship between these two sources seems quite clear: the Viennese edition of the New Testament is Tremellius' main source for his translation; however, when he feels that it is wrong or confusing, he goes back to the Heidelberg manuscript to see if the text there has not been beset by the same corruption. It is significant, though, that the Heidelberg manuscript is only called upon to defend corrections: at no point does Tremellius offer alternative readings from it, without valuing one over the other (a procedure he does use in other instances, as we will see below), nor does he record instances where he prefers the more modern edition of the Syriac New Testament over his manuscript. This would seem to indicate that Tremellius was not working through the New Testament with both versions open in front of him, comparing them line by line, and word by word. Rather, there was a hierarchy, in which the more modern version held prominence. Although still a work of considerable scholarship, this may lead one to the conclusion that Tremellius was prepared to rely on the work of Widmanstadt, and his own, perhaps rather more intuitive, knowledge of Hebrew and Syriac, which was the result of having studied Hebrew since his childhood.

A further reason may be adduced as to why Tremellius should refer to the Heidelberg manuscript in the manner that he does. Although the New Testament and Syriac grammar were dedicated to Queen Elizabeth and Archbishop Parker, respectively, Tremellius must also have felt indebted to the Elector Frederick III, who had been his employer throughout the decade. Tremellius would go on to dedicate his translation of the Old Testament to the Elector. By making repeated references to this manuscript, located in the library of the University of Heidelberg, and even more in his attribution "manuscripto... illustrissimi principis electoris Palatini",[116] he is perhaps also flattering his patron. This impression is further enhanced by the fact that none of his other sources, with the exception of Widmanstadt's edition, are mentioned anywhere in this edition.

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the subject of the Syriac New Testament in general with me.
[116] Heb. Ch.2, n.8 (2.14)

Yet if the Syriac text and the manuscript in Heidelberg are his two major sources, these are not the only works which he has consulted. On occasion, he also makes reference to a Greek version of the New Testament.[117] However, there is no indication of which Greek text he is using. It is, of course, quite possible, especially given their later interchangeability, that he used Beza's Greek New Testament. Clearly, he was able to use Greek, but the extent of his proficiency in that language remains unclear. He almost certainly used further Aramaic, Syriac or rabbinic sources, and must have been aware of the major works of figures like Erasmus, Calvin and Beza, but these are never mentioned by name. The inclusion of the Vulgate version of the New Testament in his 1569 edition confirms that he had consulted that work, and it is inconceivable that as a biblical scholar he would not have used a wide variety of other works, but again these are not explicitly mentioned.

The Annotations

An analysis of the entire New Testament is beyond the scope of this study. This chapter will not seek to deal with Tremellius' translation as such. Basil Hall, in his extended essay on biblical editions, offers some comments on Tremellius' biblical scholarship as a whole, which may be useful as a starting point. He writes: "This version turned away from the method of Castellio to the older more literal method of Münster, and sought to convey the Hebrew sense and idiom without sacrificing Latin style".[118] It was this accuracy and literalism which do most to explain the popularity of Tremellius' biblical editions through the seventeenth century and beyond. However, beyond identifying this tendency in his scholarship, an analysis of his translation, in itself, would be unlikely to advance our understanding of his contribution to any great extent. Rather, by using the materials with which he supplemented his translations, and particularly, his annotations

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[117] e.g. Heb. Ch.4, n.1 (4.1) and Heb. Ch.6, n.4 (6.6)
[118] Hall - 'Biblical Scholarship', p.73

on his translation of the Syriac text, it will be possible to identify to draw a range of significant conclusions about this work as a whole.

I have looked at Tremellius' annotations on the whole of the New Testament, in order to ensure that they remain consistent throughout the volume. Here, however, I will focus my attentions primarily on Tremellius' annotations on the Gospel of John, and the Epistles to the Romans, to the Ephesians, and to the Hebrews. It is hoped that the selection of books which I have made will give a fair representation of the kinds of books in the New Testament, combining, as it does, a Gospel with several letters. Between them, these four books contain a total of over 600 annotations, which is a substantial figure upon which to base an assessment.[119] Moreover, very approximately, these books represent almost one quarter of the entire length of the entire New Testament; again, this is likely to ensure that the sample chosen is not unrepresentative of the whole.

Moreover, there are certain reasons for which this, admittedly still arbitrary, selection has been made. The Gospel of John has been chosen because, apart from the desirability of having a gospel in the sample, exegetes have often found in his account grounds for attacking the Jews. Tremellius, as a converted Jew himself, might be expected to use this book as a means for expressing his views on his former brethren. The choice of the Epistle to the Hebrews was made for similar reasons. Paul's Letter to the Romans proved to be one of the most popular among the reformers, and it provided many exegetes and biblical commentators with the material for their theological attacks on the Catholic church. Ephesians is in part included as a second example of a Pauline writing. It is also included, however, because in 1562, Tremellius had published an edition of Martin Bucer's lectures on this book, which the latter had delivered in Cambridge in the months leading up to his death.

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[119] There are 128 annotations on the Gospel of John, 285 on the Epistle to the Romans, 32 on the Epistle to the Ephesians, and 168 on the Epistle to the Hebrews. This gives a total of 613 annotations on these four books.

By the time Tremellius' Latin translation of the Syriac New Testament was being included as the final instalment of the six parts of his and Junius' translation of both Testaments and Apocrypha, the format had changed somewhat. Most obviously, the Greek, Syriac and Latin Vulgate versions of the New Testament had been omitted. Instead, Tremellius' Latin translation is presented alone, taking two columns on each page. The contrast with the Old Testament (which will be discussed in the following chapter more fully) is striking. The information supplementing the New Testament is, by contrast, quite slight. After the title of the book, which is centred on the page, and written in large, capital letters, there is no argument or other form of introduction, either to the book as a whole, or to the individual chapters. The first letter of each book is large and incorporated into a flower-decorated pattern. There are no maps or other kinds of illustration.

The annotations are largely restricted to the margins of the page, although when the notes require more space than the text which they accompany, they are continued beneath the text, at the foot of the page, or following on at the end of the appropriate chapter. Unlike the Old Testament, there are not further sets of notes at the end of each chapter. The notes which are present, however, are numbered, with each sequence beginning with the start of every new chapter. The corresponding number appears within the Latin translation. The number refers to the word or phrase which immediately succeeds (rather than precedes, as is the custom with modern footnotes) the number. While the translation is presented in Roman script, the annotations are written in italics (except where a word, which would have been presented in italics, is written in Roman script). Because of their marginal position on the page, not to mention their presumed secondary importance after the Scriptures themselves, Tremellius has taken every care to minimise his annotations. Consequently, not only are most ideas expressed as succinctly as possible, but he also uses regular abbreviations. There are some gaps down the side of the page, but there can also be places where there are so

many annotations that the type-setter is obliged to continue them either under the end of the chapter, or at the foot of the page.

Nonetheless, a number of preliminary comments may be made about the quantity of annotations which accompany Tremellius' Latin New Testament translation. The four gospels and the Acts of the Apostles would seem to have slightly fewer annotations but this is more than compensated for by the fact that they have some of the longest annotations. The Epistles seem to be treated largely uniformly themselves. The notes are shorter on average, but there are still passages which can be quite heavily annotated. The table below contains information relating to the approximate ratio between the number of notes and the number of verses in the four books of the New Testament which I have subjected to a more detailed analysis.

Gospel of John	21 chapters	881 verses	128 annotations 1 note/7 verses
Letter to Hebrews	13 chapters	303 verses	169 annotations 1 note/2 verses
Letter to Ephesians	6 chapters	155 verses	32 annotations 1 note/5 verses
Letter to Romans	16 chapters	534 verses	285 annotations 1 note/2 verses

Certainly, there is something of a range in how many annotations accompany the verses of a given New Testament book. Nonetheless, it is worth considering that for the books where there are fewer annotations, they are generally longer, with the result that there is, very approximately, the same volume of marginal material throughout. The Epistles to the Hebrews and to the Romans, according to these figures, are the best represented, but my consideration of the New Testament as a whole would lead me to conclude that they are not really exceptional. Yet an awareness of this range is also useful for comparing not only Tremellius' New Testament with his Old, but also for considering his output in relation to that of other exegetes and commentators, some of whom sought to provide analysis on every verse. Tremellius has struck a balance which allows him to fill the space available, without providing too much superfluous information; he comments only when he feels he has something worth saying. The following discussion will seek

to identify what were the most common forms of annotation, and thereby to deduce what Tremellius was seeking to do by means of his marginalia.

Philological Remarks

Many of Tremellius' annotations on his New Testament are comments on the Syriac text itself. In one set of notes, he seeks to correct what he believes to be typographical errors in the printed Syriac version of Widmanstadt. On certain occasions, we are expected simply to take his word for the corrections that he makes. For instance, on Hebrews 3.8, he suggests that the mistaken use of Mem in the place of Caph, has led the Syriac to read סמרמרנא instead of גמרמרנא.[120] He argues that this wrong letter was "posito per librariorum iniuriam", but on this occasion does not provide any further textual support for his revision. Similar is his treatment of the expression which he renders 'confusioni se exposuit', of Hebrews 12.2.[121] Tremellius writes that in his Syriac text he finds the word אסתר, which is derived from מתר. However, he also points out that נתר is frequently found in the New Testament ('frequenter invenitur in hoc novo Testamento'). Tremellius can find no definite cause for this peculiarity, but he does offer two possible explanations, when he writes, "Qua se vel erratum esse a librariis puto, vel ex lingua proprietate Mem esse positum pro Beth, quod amba sint litera labiales."

These two theories provide an interesting insight into Tremellius' priorities. The suggestion that it might have been the result of a scribal error indicates his alertness to practical matters in the transmission of texts; his comment about it perhaps being the product of a linguistic peculiarity resulting from the fact that both Mem and Bet are labials, suggests an inclination to explain it in purely linguistic terms. It is nevertheless revealing that Tremellius, even as an expert in Hebrew, has not encountered this

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[120] Heb. Ch.3, n.8 (3.8)
[121] Heb. Ch.12, n.3 (12.2)

peculiarity himself. Still, as an expert, it is easier for him to speculate like this, safe in the knowledge that he is not overlooking a more straightforward explanation. Yet, at the same time, it is significant that he does not put forward any other explanations of a more complicated nature.

Elsewhere, Tremellius seeks to support his revisions by reference to more than his intuition alone. For instance, in Ephesians 4, on the expression "in sanctitate veritatis", Tremellius explains that the Syriac text had the expression כחסיותא, but that he has not found this word anywhere else.[122] Instead, he suggests that it should read כהסירותא, which is the abstract noun for holiness or sanctity. As Tremellius goes on to say "& admodum typographo fuit facile errorem committere in vocibus inter quas tanta est similitudo". More importantly, he concludes this annotation by remarking that he has looked at the Heidelberg manuscript, in order to confirm that he is not mistaken.

Similarly, on Ephesians 5, on the word 'circumspecte', Tremellius remarks that he has been unable to find the word which he finds in his Syriac text וחיראית anywhere else, being used in in this sense or in any other.[123] On the other hand, however, he notes that the word is very similar to וחיראית: in fact, it is a syncope, that is the intentional omission, of the letter ד. He then goes on to comment that "Et errorem esse dicere non ausim", but that not only his Syriac text, but also the Heidelberg manuscript, has the word this way. Further to confirm his assessment, he points out that in Syriac speech one letter or syllable is often dropped in this way, before giving a further example taken from later in the letter. This particular example is interesting because it illustrates how Tremellius is seeking to explain his rendering of the text, as well as providing insights into the nature of his Syriac text: the notes are intended to help the reader deal with that Syriac text, rather than to show how skilled a Hebraist he is.

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[122] Eph. Ch.4, n.4 (4.24)
[123] Eph. Ch.5, n.4 (5.15)

The book of Hebrews provides several more such examples. For instance, in Heb. 2.9, he notes that the phrase סמרמן was missing in his version of the Syriac New Testament. However, he goes on "ex codice manuscripto antiquissimo... restituitita...".[124] In Heb. 2.14, he notes that his Syriac has the verb in the plural, אשתיחו, but he is so certain that this is a scribal error ("librariorum errore"), and that the singular verb should be used, אשתיתן, (i.e. 'communicavit'), "ut veritus non sim ipsum restituere".[125] To defend further his correction, he adds "atque ita habebat manuscriptus codex Heidelbergensis". In Heb. 3.8, he realises that the letter Caph (i.e. 'K') was missing from the front of the pronoun in his Syriac text (relating to "corda vestra"), making it '*your* heart'. As in the previous example, he defends his restoration of this letter with the expression "nos restituimus ex manuscripto Syro codice".[126]

In Heb. 4.1, Tremellius defends his correction of the word רחלחכל to כחלחכל (i.e. changed first letter from Resh to Nun) on two grounds.[127] Firstly, he points out "Nemini enim dubium esse potest locum corruptum esse, ex quo nullus sensus colligi possit". Then he goes on to argue "Ex Graecis autem facile intellegitur legendum est..." Indeed, this would seem to indicate the way in which Tremellius approached his translation, according to the manner I have already suggested in relation to his use of sources. His prompt to go looking elsewhere is when the base text does not make sense to him. Only in these instances does he look to his knowledge of the Hebrew language and to his other texts for possible, more comprehensible, readings. It is not a case of comparing a group of texts on every point and word.

Rarely, Tremellius even goes so far as to compare all three of his main sources. In Heb. 6.6, for instance, he notes that in his Syriac version there was the phrase יתוב, that is, 'Et rursum'. However, he goes on "sed manuscriptum codicem sequutus scripsi רתוב," that

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124 Heb. Ch.2, n.4 (2.9)
125 Heb. Ch.2, n.8 (2.14)
126 Heb. Ch.3, n.7 (3.8)
127 Heb. Ch.4, n.1 (4.1)

is 'Qui rursum'. To this he then adds "quod etiam cum Graeco magis consentit".[128] This instance is particularly interesting not simply because it is the only occasion on which he compares all three of his explicitly mentioned sources, but also because it sheds light on his method of working. In all the other examples which I have quoted, and indeed in Hebrews as a whole, an apparent error has seemingly provoked him to compare his Syriac text with his other sources. Here he makes no comment about the 'Et rursum' being incorrect, and in fact, there is little to suggest that, grammatically at least, it does not work. It would seem in this instance that he is relying on what seems most idiomatic, again something which is easier for him to do than most other Hebrew scholars of the period because of his intimacy with the language.

This philological dimension to Tremellius' labours is also evident in a range of comments in which he seeks to draw out the etymological and linguistic features of his text. Typical of the former is the following note. In Ephesians Chapter 2, on the word 'mundanitatem', Tremellius remarks that the Syriac abstract noun, of which 'mundanitatem' is a translation, is derived from a second Syriac word for 'world', עליותא.[129] He notes further that this original word was a feminine noun ("substantiuum foemininum").

Other notes deal with the peculiarities of the grammatical construction of Syriac. For instance, in Ephesians 1, in a note on the 'per' part of 'per dilectionem', Tremellius draws together his knowledge of Hebrew, Greek and Latin grammar, when he writes: "In Syriaco textu Per dilectionem, non coliaret membro superiori, ut in Graeco, sed incipit membrum proximum, praeposita coniunctione".[130] Then, in Chapter 5 of the same book, he seeks to draw a linguistic lesson from the text. Dealing with the clause "ne etiam omnino nominetur inter vos", he gives the literal translation of the Syriac as "Ne nominando nominetur inter vos".[131] He then goes on to talk about this

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[128] Heb. Ch.6, n.4 (6.6)
[129] Eph. Ch.2, n.1 (2.2)
[130] Eph. Ch.1, n.1 (1.5)
[131] Eph. Ch.5, n.1 (5.3)

grammatical construction more generally: "Et infinitiuum verbum eidem verbo in praeterito vel futuro gerundii loco praepositum, aequivalet adverbio augenti verbi significationem" Moreover, he notes that such a construction is found not merely in the Syriac (New) Testament, but in the whole Bible. To prove this point, he provides an example taken from Genesis.

Closely connected to this kind of note, are those in which Tremellius explains a word or expression by making reference to the linguistic customs of the language from which it is taken. Unsurprisingly, given his own background, and the nature of the translation he is making (i.e. explicitly taken from the Syriac rather than the Greek), these references are generally to Hebrew usage. Often this takes the form of his merely noting that an expression is a Hebraism. However, on other occasions, he provides more information than that. These are the cases which, obviously, merit most attention.

In Ephesians 1, for example, he writes to confirm a paraphrase of the expression "Multifariam & omnibus formis" that "Porro sciunt omnes qui Hebræa attigerunt," that the particular does not always take the place of the universal.[132] He then provides a selection of references to passages taken from the Old Testament which follow the linguistic rule he has recorded. Equally, Tremellius goes beyond the general rule to specific instances of Hebrew usage when this is necessary to explain parts of his Latin translation. For instance, in Hebrews Chapter 1, he comments that the use of "&" rather than "Aut" ('But') is a "Hebraismus tritus".[133] In Chapter 2, he points out that, as has been noted before, "Gustare mortem, ex Hebraismo dici pro Mori."[134]

In Chapter 13, Tremellius refers to another quirk of Hebrew usage. In explaining why 'Bonum est... et non' has been chosen in preference to 'Melius est... quam', he remarks that this is a Hebraism, before going on to say "Nam subiectum. Et non, idem valet quod

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[132] Heb. Ch.1, n.1 (1.1)
[133] Heb. Ch.1, n.2 (1.1)
[134] Heb. Ch.2, n.4 (2.9)

Quam ut satis appareat positium esse loco comparativi".[135] In other words, he means that the phrasing which he has used, following Hebrew usage, has exactly the same impact ('idem valet'), as would using the comparative, which would perhaps seem more natural in Latin.

On occasions, Tremellius refers to the 'paraphrast', and sometimes seeks to explain why he has offered a particular rendition. For instance, in Heb. 9.4, on the expression 'Arca Foederis", he writes "Vocabulum Graecum usurpat Paraphrastes".[136] Similarly, in Chapter 12, Tremellius comments on the Paraphrast's use of a different phrase "libiipsiis". Moreover, he is also prompted to speculate as to why the Paraphrast chose to employ this specific term. He writes "Ac fortasse hoc modo voluit Paraphrastes insaniam eorum exaggerare, atque explicare Graeco".[137] On one instance, Tremellius even goes so far as to contradict the Paraphrast. In Chapter 11, he remarks, "Sequitur Paraphrastes Graecorum interpretationem. Hebræa veritas habet".[138]

Glosses

A glance at the most commonly-used expressions gives a good indication of what Tremellius is seeking to do in his annotations. These include 'id est', and the virtually synonymous 'hoc est'. Such phrases generally introduce alternative phrasings of the scriptural texts. Similar in nature is 'ad verbum', in that this introduces a more literal rendering of a word or phrase which Tremellius has given a more stylish translation. 'Vel' and 'pro' again follow this kind of line: they introduce alternative renderings of expressions. They start notes in which Tremellius explains the more obscure or complicated phrases of his translation by means of alternative readings. Some of these are alternatives he has conceived of himself, while others are taken from his various

135 Heb. Ch.13, n.4 (13.?)
136 Heb. Ch.9, n.4 (9.4)
137 Heb. Ch.12, n.4 (12.3)
138 Heb. Ch.11, n.20 (11.21)

scriptural sources, which he has then to embellish for it to be fully intelligible in Latin translation.

Other expressions more clearly reflect his original sources. For his Syriac text, these include phrases like 'Syre', 'Syrus', 'Syra phrasis', 'In voce Syra', 'Syriace' and so on. Also common are references to Hebrew and Hebrew usage; these include 'Hebraismus', 'Hebraice', 'ex Hebra', 'ex Hebraismus', 'Similis Hebraismus', 'apud Hebraeos' and abbreviations thereof. Finally, far less common, but still worthy of mention, for the sake of completeness if nothing else, are his references to Latin and Greek usage. These include 'Latine', 'ex Graecu' and 'apud Graecos'.

Considered together, these two sets of annotations are very heavily represented in the books which I have subjected to a more detailed analysis. In Ephesians, where Tremellius offers 33 notes, examples from this range of expressions are used on 32 occasions. In Hebrews, Tremellius offers 169 notes; phrases from this selection are used on 154 occasions. Perhaps most impressive, however, is the example of Romans. Here there are 285 annotations, and examples from the selection of phrases described above, are represented on 614 occasions. This equates to more than two such expressions per annotation.

Of course, such expressions are not necessarily the only feature of a note, and indeed as the example of Romans in particular highlights, at least two such phrases can appear in the same annotation. Nonetheless, these books, which are seemingly quite typical of Tremellius' New Testament as a whole, make it clear how common these expressions are, and indeed, consequently show the focus of his remarks. These kinds of notes do not conceal theological exegesis; they simply seek to eliminate possible areas of confusion, and to render the translation more comprehensible to the reader. They may also serve as an indication of Tremellius' realisation of the limitations of *all* translations of the Scriptures. It is not always possible to provide a direct rendering of the Syriac (or the Greek for that matter) into Latin; where he believes this to be the case, he offers

more than one reading. This gives the reader slightly more freedom to interpret the text, than were a single 'definitive' text to be provided throughout; in a sense, moreover, it may bring the reader a little closer to the original source text.

While the annotations are written in Latin, Tremellius employs words from a range of other languages, and refers to principles of their usage; these constitute another substantial element in his annotations. First, he makes regular references to the Syriac text of the New Testament. In his annotations on Ephesians, for example, he refers to the 'Syriaco textu'[139] the 'Vox Syriaca'[140] the 'Vox Syra'.[141] Similarly, he mentions a 'Verbum Syriacum'[142] and later on makes reference to a 'Vocabulum... Syriacum':[143] many more examples could be found to supplement these. Given that this was a translation from Syriac, rather than Greek, and that his two principal sources were Syriac texts, this is hardly surprising.

It is beyond question that Tremellius was highly proficient in both Hebrew and Syriac; a handful of examples will suffice. In Hebrews, Chapter 2, for example, he notes that the pronoun affixed to a Syriac noun is ambiguous, and outlines both possible meanings.[144] Later in the same chapter, referring to his phrase "princeps Pontificum", Tremellius notes that the author of the letter to the Hebrews "Nomen Hebræum כמר usurpat in bonam partem in tota hac epistola...".[145] He goes on to remark how this is wrongly used throughout the Scriptures. In an annotation to the sixth chapter, in giving the literal expression of a phrase which he renders "patienter expectavit", he remarks that the original phrase ('Continuit spiritum suum') is a 'Loquutio Syra & Chaldæa iam sæpius indicata".[146] Finally, in his notes to the ninth chapter, he provides a brief discussion of the "thuribulum aureum", which he notes in Syriac was "Domus

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[139] Eph. Ch.1, n.1 (1.5)
[140] Eph. Ch.4, n.4 (4.24)
[141] Eph. Ch.5, n.5 (5.15)
[142] Eph. Ch.1, n.2 (1.5)
[143] Eph. Ch.2, n.1 (2.2)
[144] Heb. Ch.2, n.5 (2.9)
[145] Heb. Ch.2, n.9 (2.17)
[146] Heb. Ch.6, n.7 (6.15)

aromatum". He continues that it was not written clearly in any law "fuisse thuribulum peculiariter destinatum sacrario", although that it what the Apostle ('Apostolus') claims here.[147]

Tremellius' use of Greek is less regular, but still evident. In his annotations on Hebrews, he includes the Greek word 'αγανα' on two occasions,[148] as well as the word 'Κακοφοναϲ' on another.[149] It is evident, then, that the printer of this work had, and could employ, a Greek type-face, as well as the Latin and Hebrew ones. In addition, Tremellius makes a number of references to the Greek text of the New Testament.[150] It should be remembered that, in the title of his translation of the New Testament, Tremellius describes it as "e lingua Syriaca latino sermone redditum", so it was by no means inevitable that he would have consulted also a Greek text.

Again, a selection of examples will give some indication of what Tremellius does here. In one note, Tremellius remarks that the person has changed from 'illa' to 'nostram', because of the similarity of two Greek words.[151] In another, he writes that the "Graecum nomen servat".[152] Elsewhere, he explains another word from the Greek sense.[153] Similarly, in another note, he defends his translation of a word by referring to its Greek context.[154] In other instances, he comments on the relationship between the Greek and the Latin texts. At one point, discussing "qui vincti erant", he writes "latius Graeca extendit", suggesting that the Latin translation emebellishes the sense of the Greek.[155] Later, on 'arcam', he comments that "Imitatur vocem Graecam".[156] Finally, on one occasion, reference is made to Greek linguistic practices, as a means of

147 Heb. Ch.9, n.3 (9.4)
148 Heb. Ch.10, n.27; Heb. Ch.12, n.2
149 Heb. Ch.12, n.6
150 e.g. Ch.4, n.1; Ch.6, n.1; Ch.9, n.4; Ch.9, n.6; Ch.9, n.16; Ch.10, n.22; Ch.11, n.20; Ch.11, n.27
151 Heb. Ch.9, n.11 (9.14)
152 Heb. Ch.9, n.16 (9.23)
153 Heb. Ch.12, n.4 (12.3)
154 Heb. Ch.11, n.17 (11.16)
155 Heb. Ch.10, n.34
156 Heb. Ch.11, n.9 (11.17)

contrasting them with the Syriac. He writes: "In Syriaco textu 'Per' dilectionem, non coliaret membro superiori, ut in Græco, sed incipit membrum proximum ... ".[157]

Tremellius also makes the occasional reference to modern languages. In a note on Hebrews 5, he provides a gloss for the word, 'quamvis'. He begins by giving the Syriac expression, namely, כרסכ, and then goes on to say that it corresponds exactly to the French word 'Combienque', and the German phrase 'Wie woll'.[158] In his annotations on Romans, however, he refers to French usage on five separate occasions.[159] Three of these annotations refer to very similar expressions. In Chapter 1, he notes that the literal version of what he has rendered 'a mortuis', 'De inter mortuos' parallels the French expression 'D'entre les morts'.[160] In Chapter 4, he makes exactly the same comment, although on this occasion, he puts the French as 'D'euntre les mors'.[161] In Chapter 6, he returns to the first of these renditions.[162] He notes also, as these remarks would substantiate, that this was a "Syra phrasis ubiq. obvia." In fact, this is clearly the case, for in Chapter 11 as well, Tremellius provides the literal version once more, without, this time, giving the French equivalent, saying merely that it is a 'Hebraismus'.[163]

In Romans 8, on the expression "non pro voluntate sua", Tremellius gives two alternative Latin versions, namely "Non sponte sua" and "pro vota sua", before then also offering the French "Non pas de sa volonte".[164] Finally, in chapter 12, on the expression "quod ad vos spectat", he gives first a literal Latin version, "Secundum quod est ex vobis". He then says that this is quite close to the French expression "Quant est de vostre coste".[165] The examples taken from French, and even more so, the lone reference to a German phrase, are not really sufficient to lead one to any conclusions as

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157 Heb. Ch.1, n.1 (1.5)
158 Heb. Ch.5, n.2 (5.8)
159 Rom. 1.6, 4.5, 6.2, 8.17, 12.11
160 Rom. Ch.1, n.6 (1.4)
161 Rom. Ch.4, n.5 (4.24)
162 Rom. Ch.6, n.2 (6.4)
163 Rom. Ch.11, n.12 (11.15)
164 Rom. Ch.8, n.17 (8.20)
165 Rom. Ch.12, n.11 (12.18)

to Tremellius' proficiency in these languages. The fact that he should have noted this linguistic similarity at all, however, might indicate that he had attained a reasonable fluency. Further, that he had spent some time in each of the countries might lend support to the idea that he had noted this himself, rather than simply seeking to show off his wide knowledge of languages. Finally, one might imagine that, not least because the work is in Latin, he was writing for an international audience; this might explain why he felt that comments in a range of languages were appropriate; alternatively, however, there is the possibility that he is simply seeking to show off the breadth of his learning. Either way, it is striking that Tremellius employs six languages in his annotations on the New Testament: Latin, Syriac, Hebrew, Greek, French and German.

Several of Tremellius' annotations on the Epistle to the Ephesians provide explanations of what is contained in the text. For example, on the expression "iuxta voluntatem praecipuae potestatis aerei" he writes that this is a 'periphrasis' for the Devil, "cuius impulsa mundus contra Christum haud secus agitatur quam aere commoto naves agitantur in mari".[166] The expression which is used in the text of the Bible is a little ambiguous, and while its meaning could be discerned, Tremellius makes it exactly clear what is meant. It must be considered, at the same time, however, whether the phrase was intentionally vague in the first place, as it was intended to include a wider range of meaning. Nonetheless, Tremellius' interpretation eliminates a possible point of confusion.

Elsewhere, when Paul is explaining, in keeping with the first commandment, that one should obey one's parents, in Ephesians 6, Tremellius notes that the apostle "Retinet eadem verba quibus promissio facta est in Lege: atque prolongationem vitae filiorum parentibus attribuit, quia ab iis dependet: videlicet, si honor afficiantur sicut Lex praescribit."[167] In fact, the verse to which this note refers would seem to be a direct quotation from Deuteronomy 5.16, although, perhaps surprisingly, Tremellius makes no

166 Eph. Ch.2, n.2 (2.2)
167 Eph. Ch.6, n.1 (6.3)

specific reference to that earlier passage. Nonetheless, he is clearly aware of the connection, and it may be that he considered the Ten Commandments too well-known to require annotation.

In Ephesians Chapter 2, Tremellius provides a pair of glosses on two expressions. On one word, for which he provides the alternative rendering 'Gubernatione' – 'government' - he goes on to write: "Id est quod ad spiritualia attinet, nihil vobis cum Israele commune erat: quia in promissionibus Dei non eratis comprehensi".[168] In the next note, on the word "promissionis", he comments "Id est quod ad pacta & foedera attinet, quibus Deus se Israelitarum Deum futurum promittebat".[169] Similarly, on the phrase "& legem mandatorum cum mandatis eius aboleuit", Tremellius writes "Intelligit multitudinem illam ceremoniarum, quibus Israel a reliquis Gentibus discernebatur".[170] Again, the meaning is largely apparent from the context, but only implicitly. Tremellius' brief note simply clarifies the matter.

A further set of annotations is concerned with explaining the content of the biblical passage, on occasions when its meaning may not be immediately obvious to the reader. For instance, in Ephesians 6, which deals with a baptism, he writes "Nam immergebatur aquis".[171] Through this point he is making is a subtle remark in favour of complete immersion in water, rather than simply the touching with water.[172] The first two notes of Chapter 9, to which reference has already been made, provide further information relating to consecrated bread, and how it ought to be put on the table of the Lord in his full view, and to the second curtain around the Ark which divides a holy place from merely the entrance ('atrium').

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168 Eph. Ch.2, n.4 (2.12)
169 Eph. Ch.2, n.5 (2.12)
170 Eph. Ch.2, n.6 (2.15)
171 Eph. Ch.6, n.3
172 I am grateful to Irena Backus for her remarks in relation to this point.

Closely connected to these kinds of explanations are those which deal with certain rhetorical expressions. Most common of this type of note is the explanation of metaphorical phrases. Thus, in Ephesians Chapter 1, he expands upon the "Per dilectionem praedestinavit nos sibi".[173] However, he does not use this as an opportunity, as other especially Calvinist writers might have done, to begin a discussion of predestination. Rather, he focuses on the word 'praedestinavit'. He writes "Verbum Syriacum proprie signficat, Signavit & notam inusit" He then goes on to explain "Estque metaphora sumpta ab iis qui ex rerum magna multitudine, certas aliqua insigniunt".

In Chapter 3, where Paul refers to the impact of the Holy Spirit on the inner man, Tremellius explains the contrasts which are implied between the spiritual and the carnal dimensions to man, as seen in the external/internal and old/young dichotomies. He writes "Qui alius nonus homo dicitur cui opponitur exterior homo & vetus: interdum etiam spiritus, quem admodum vetus homo carnis & membrorum appellatione intelligitur".[174] Then, in Chapter 6, Tremellius comments on Paul's words: "Et calceate in pedibus vestris praeparationem Evangelii pacis" In this annotation, the last on Ephesians, he writes: "Id est, Tamquam calceis militaribus, pedes vestres munite praeparatione pacis Evangelii, quasi dicat, Muniti & parati situ ad hanc spiritualem pugnam cognitione Evangelii pacis".[175] The notion of the spiritual battle was a familiar one, but here Tremellius seeks to bring out the particular nuances of Paul's words, drawing out the contrast between 'pugnam' and 'pacis' for example.

Such annotations are also to be found in Tremellius' commentary on Hebrews. In Chapter 1, Tremellius expands upon the expression "splendor gloriae eius", by noting that this is a metaphor by which Christ is described.[176] Moreover, he goes on to suggest that the phrase also demonstrates that the Son is eternal with the Father, Christ

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[173] Eph. Ch.1, n.2 (1.5)
[174] Eph. Ch.3, n.5 (3.17)
[175] Eph. Ch.6, n.5 (6.15)
[176] Heb. Ch.1, n.4 (1.3)

with God. Identifying this as a metaphor is straightforward literary criticism, but in explaining what he understands it to mean, Tremellius is actually led into a minor instance of exegesis. Clearly, though, the form that this takes is decidedly unpolemical or controversial. Nonetheless, as being a rare instance in which Tremellius expresses his own view point, this note is especially interesting. It perhaps reflects his desire to distance himself from Judaism in the eyes of his readers.

In Chapter 2, Tremellius points out an instance of metonymy, or the metaphorical involving the naming of an attribute of something for the whole. Here he explains that the expression "to taste death" is used in place of "to die".[177] In Chapter 9, he notes that the person has changed from 'illa' to 'nostram'.[178] In Chapter 10, in an explanation already referred to, Tremellius points out that God's very great anger is, by means of the metaphorical expression "zelus ignis devorantis", compared to fire.[179]

In Chapter 11 he explains the word 'illis' as a "Relativum sine antecedente expresso", that is, a pronoun whose meaning is unclear from the previous passage.[180] As Tremellius goes on to say, the word refers to those who are persuaded, by faith, concerning those things for which they hoped before. In Chapter 2, he deals with a similar pronoun, indicating that the pronoun used in the Syriac text is ambiguous.[181] While he chooses to render the expression in question as "per beneficentiam suam" (with the 'suam' referring to Christ), he accepts in his note that it could equally be translated as "per beneficentiam eius" (in which case, the 'eius' would be a reference to God).

A number of his annotations deal with very minor, and similar, points of language. In Chapter 3, he notes that the "&" is redundant.[182] In Chapter 10, he remarks on the word

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177 Heb. Ch.2, n.4 (2.9)
178 Heb. Ch.9, n.11 (9.14)
179 Heb. Ch.10, n.15 (10.27)
180 Heb. Ch.11, n.2 (11.1)
181 Heb. Ch.2, n.5 (2.9)
182 Heb. Ch.3, n.11 (3.14)

"&" that "Copula Et loco disiunctiva Aut", in other words that a conjunction ('and') has been used where a 'disjunction' (e.g. 'but') would make more sense.[183] He makes exactly the same points in notes 9 and 10 of Chapter 12: "Et copulativa pro Sed adversativa"; "Et pro Aut disiunctiva".[184] This very close attention to linguistic detail would, in some ways, do more to characterise Tremellius' annotations than one might expect from a sixteenth-century Calvinist biblical scholar.

In Chapter 3, he displays a certain sensitivity to the language, and more specifically to the tone of what is said, in his annotation. In his exposition of the phrase "examinate vosipsos", he remarks that this is an 'exhortatio', through which the author declares what he requires in those whom he encourages.[185] This is actually manifest in the text, and it is not entirely clear why Tremellius felt the need to explain it further. Nonetheless, it once again shows one of the areas which he sought to cover in his commentary.

Conclusion

I will postpone making comments on Tremellius' biblical editions as a whole to the end of the following chapter. Nonetheless, it makes sense to come to some conclusions regarding his New Testament. It is clear that while a great variety of factors may have contributed to his decision to produce an edition of the New Testament, one of the motivating elements, not to mention an essential prerequisite, was the appearance of the first printed version of the Syriac Peschitta in 1555. While by the middle of the sixteenth century, critical biblical scholarship of the sort pioneered by Valla, pertaining to the Greek New Testament, was a century old, the study of Syriac was still a fledgling discipline. Indeed, the 1569 edition, which contained among other things, the Syriac

183 Heb. Ch.10, n.17 (10.28)
184 Heb. Ch.12, n.9 and n.10 (12.17 and 12.18)
185 Heb. Ch.3, n.9 (3.13)

text, Tremellius' rather literal translation, notes on both, and a Syriac grammar, may be seen almost as an evangelical weapon on behalf of that language. It was the first occasion on which the study of the Syriac New Testament moved beyond the realms of a tiny handful of European scholars.

Secondly, moreover, the 1569 edition was an important addition to the biblical scholarship of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It was an impressive piece of comparative textual work in its own right, drawing together three different versions of the New Testament, supplemented by a translation of his own. Tremellius was one of relatively few trilingual scholars of the period; his particular speciality in Hebrew, furthermore, marked him out from his contemporaries. In producing the first Latin translation of the Syriac New Testament, Tremellius was broadening the scope quantitatively, as much as qualitatively, of biblical scholarship. He was introducing a new tradition to a much wider audience. At that time, indeed, it was believed that this tradition enjoyed a more ancient heritage than had that used by Jerome. Regardless, by producing a complement to the more usual Greek New Testament, he helped substantially in building up the materials at the disposal of biblical scholars.

In his New Testament, Tremellius demonstrates a high degree of skill. He was one of the foremost Hebraists of the age, and was able to bring this talent to bear on the Syriac text. Moreover, in addition to the two separate Syriac versions of the New Testament, he is able to make comments derived from the Greek version of the same thing. Further, in glosses on certain phrases, he identifies similarities with contemporary French and German expressions. The instances on which he makes reference to Greek, French and German are not really sufficient to allow definite conclusions to be reached regarding his proficiency in these languages. Nonetheless, the very fact that they are included would lead one to believe that he was, at the very least, acquainted with each of them. It is probable that Greek had been a feature of much of his education. In particular, if he pursued a course in classics at the University of Padua, as is generally believed, he would very likely have received Greek instruction there. As for his knowledge of

modern languages, it should be remembered that he had lived in Strasbourg for five years, and had married a French woman there, before spending most of the 1550s and 1560s on German soil. One must imagine that he would have gained a reasonable fluency in both French and German, even if Latin is the language of most of his official business, and all the extant sources.

However, it is the annotations which are perhaps most instructive as to Tremellius' particular contribution to the biblical scholarship of the sixteenth century. My consideration of a representative selection of books from the New Testament would indicate that Tremellius was not interested in either of the major polemical issues of the period, on which one might have expected him to write. He does not use his annotations as a locus for the discussion of the place of the Jews in sixteenth-century society. He neither seeks to convert them to Christianity, nor to vilify them as a means of more closely associating himself with his assumed religion.

Nor, moreover, does he involve himself in the debate concerning the different strands of Christianity. He does not enter into the confessional theological diatribes that so often characterise biblical writings and commentaries of the period. Incidentally, this must have helped his version of the New Testament receive only moderate criticism from the censors responsible for the Antwerp Index of 1571, for example: the preface was forbidden, the author was condemned, but the censors "déclarent que l'ouvrage peut être utile", at least once about 130 annotations had been removed.[186] For Tremellius to have avoided controversial matters in this way was striking, but it was by no means unique.

In any case, it is clear that his principal intention was to provide the most accurate and intelligible translation that he could manage. Consequently, he turns his considerable knowledge of languages, ancient and modern, to consider a number of different versions of the New Testament, and thereby to synthesise a more accurate Latin rendering. His

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186 J. M. DeBujanda (Ed.) - Index des livres interdites VII; Index d'Anvers de 1569, 1570 et 1571 (Geneva, 1990), pp.552-3

annotations certainly confirm this approach. These seem to fall, by and large, into four main categories. First, and perhaps the most common, are those which seek to provide a gloss on a word or phrase. Often this can take the form of an alternative or more literal rendition of that same expression. Sometimes, similarities with the phraseology of certain modern vernaculars are highlighted. Finally, factual information can be included to render a rather obscure concept more intelligible. Similar in nature is the second type of annotation, namely those which provide a gloss on rhetorical or literary features of the Syriac text. Again these serve to draw out the meaning of the original text which might not otherwise be appreciated by all its readers. This feature is particularly typical of Protestant exegetes.

Thirdly, there are those annotations which discuss features of the Syriac text. In a sense, these are more scholarly, and seem intended more for those who wish to approach his New Testament as a piece of ancient literature, as much as a source of Christian teaching. Finally, there are the philological annotations, where Tremellius compares his various editions of the New Testament, and makes corrections to his base text where appropriate. Again, these seem more suited to a scholarly audience, for it is here, above all, that he demonstates his particular proficiency in Syriac. His ability is such that he is able to improve upon the work of another Hebrew scholar. In this regard, it is worth considering that Widmanstadt only learnt Syriac from the middle of his life from a Maronite monk; Tremellius was a converted Jew who had learnt Hebrew as a child. Thus, the annotations, like his New Testament work as a whole, indicate that Tremellius was first and foremost a humanist scholar; his Calvinism seems to have taken very much second place in his priorities here.

Chapter 6: Tremellius' Bible II

The Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra (1575-9)

In the historiography of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it has generally been agreed that Immanuel Tremellius' most important contribution to the age in which he lived was his annotated translation of the Old Testament, and, moreover, that his was the foremost Protestant Latin translation of the period. Armstrong, in The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church, for example, writes that: "Tremellius is best known for his Latin translation of the Hebrew Scriptures... long used as the most accurate Latin Bible".[1] Similarly, Carlyle, in The Dictionary of National Biography, remarks that while it was far from faultless, Tremellius' translation "evinced very thorough scholarship, and for long, both in England and on the continent, was adopted by the reformers as the most accurate rendering".[2] Pool, in an article written at the beginning of the twentieth century, describes Tremellius' translation of the Old Testament as "one of the classical works of the Reformation". He continues by claiming that it "constitutes Tremellius' chief claim to historical recognition, for it ranks high among the Protestant Bibles which made possible the revolt from Rome and from the Vulgate".[3] Shuger, meanwhile, in her monograph on the Renaissance Bible, goes even further when she describes Tremellius as the "translator of the major Protestant Latin Bible",[4] and, shortly after, refers to the translation as "the great Protestant Latin Bible".[5]

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[1] Brian G. Armstrong - 'Tremellius, John Immanuel (1510-1580)' in J. D. Douglas (Ed.) - The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church (Exeter, 1978), p. 984

[2] Carlyle, p.187

[3] D. de Sola Pool - 'The Influence of Some Jewish Apostates on the Reformation' in Jewish Review, vol. 2 (no.7-12), May 1911 to March 1912, pp.340

[4] Deborah Kuller Shuger - The Renaissance Bible, Scholarship, Sacrifice and Subjectivity (Berkeley, Los

Despite this general realisation of the significance of Tremellius' biblical scholarship, only scant attention has been paid to it. Amongst the writings specifically on Tremellius, the two German biographies contain the fullest treatments of his work in this sphere, but in keeping with the short nature of these works, the relevant discussions are correspondingly brief. In his work of 1859, Friedrich Butters devotes little more than three pages to his subject's biblical translations,[6] while Wilhelm Becker, whose biography of 1887 has done so much to shape the subsequent reception of Tremellius, spends less than a page describing these volumes.[7]

As for works which deal with the field of biblical scholarship as a whole, two examples should be sufficient to illustrate the neglect to which Tremellius has been subjected. The third volume of The Cambridge History of the Bible, which covers the period from the Reformation to the present day, is almost 600 pages long, yet there are only five references to Tremellius' Bibles, and on only one of those is there even a brief consideration of the nature of these works.[8] More recently, in the 800-page work on the Bible in the age of reform, edited by Guy Bedouelle and Bernard Roussel, there are only six references to Tremellius.[9] Here again, there is only one instance when more than a single sentence refers to Tremellius, and that is to provide a very brief biographical sketch.[10] In fact, Lloyd Jones' monograph on Hebrew scholarship in Tudor England is the only modern work which I have encountered in which there is any effort to consider Tremellius' translations in more than a couple of sentences, and even this assessment is largely derived from an article of the 1880s.[11]

Angeles, London, 1994, 1998), p.16
5 Ibid., p.23
6 Butters, pp.31-4
7 Becker, pp.37-8.
8 S. L. Greenslade (Ed.) - The Cambridge History of the Bible, vol. III: The West from the Reformation to the Present Day (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 62, 71-3, 75, 83, 167.
9 Guy Bedouelle and Bernard Roussel (Eds.) - Les Temps des Reformes et la Bible (Paris, 1989), pp. 147, 149, 188, 264, 270ff., 432
10 Ibid., p.270
11 G. Lloyd Jones - The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language (Manchester, 1983), especially pp.50-2. His account is based on L. Wolf - 'Immanuel Tremellius', Papers read at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition (London, 1887).

All of this would indicate, therefore, that here is a definite lacuna in our historical knowledge: Tremellius' biblical scholarship is an important, but hitherto largely unstudied, area. In this chapter, then, I will address this problem. First, I shall seek to identify, as far as is possible, features upon which a claim to pre-eminence for Tremellius' Bible may be based. This will include a look at the impact which this work had upon his near contemporaries. Then I will look at Tremellius' Old Testament, again paying particular attention to his annotations. The chapter will then conclude with a brief consideration of what it was like to read Tremellius' biblical editions as a whole.

The Pre-eminent Protestant Latin Bible?

It is perhaps not possible to demonstrate, beyond all question, that Tremellius' Bible was the pre-eminent Protestant Latin version. Nonetheless, there are several factors on which such a claim might be based. First, it is not insignificant that Tremellius' translation, published by Henry Middleton in London in 1579-80, was the first complete Latin Bible printed in England. Middleton and his various sponsors must have felt that Tremellius' version of the Bible was particularly worth publishing, as they were responsible for several editions through the 1580s. Beyond their Protestant orientation, it is not clear why they should have favoured Tremellius' rendering, but its scholarly credentials must undoubtedly have contributed to their decision.

Secondly, Tremellius' translation, which was first published in 1575-9 in Frankfurt, appears to have enjoyed a longevity unparalleled by any of the other Protestant Latin translations to emerge from the sixteenth century. While its heyday was undoubtedly the end of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth, a further nine editions were published after 1650, including one each in the first two decades of the

eighteenth century.[12] The frequency with which it was reprinted in England and on the continent also adds weight to its claim to be the foremost Protestant translation. So far I have come across 34 separate editions of his Old Testament.[13] This is clearly a considerable number. A survey of Darlow and Moule's catalogue of printed Bibles, combined with a number of library catalogues, for the century following 1580, suggests that once the Vulgate, and the Sixto-Clementine revision of that work, are removed from the calculations, Tremellius' translation went through more than twice as many editions as all the other Latin translations of the Bible combined.

Of course, one must be wary of attaching too much significance to the number of editions alone, as these do not take into account the relative size of press runs.[14] Further, Tremellius' Bible appeared in various sizes, from folio down to duodecimo, making it even less likely that the same number of copies were produced on each occasion. Nor can much can be drawn from the prices mentioned in relation to certain of the Tremellius Bibles which feature in Leedham-Green's catalogue of Cambridge book inventories.[15] Nonetheless, in the absence of any other guides, these figures are the only means by which his Bible's success may be quantified; if nothing else, they do at least suggest the predominance of Tremellius' version. Moreover, if we estimate an average of 3,000 copies per edition, by no means an outrageous figure given the evident popularity of the work, then the 34 editions of his Old Testament that I have identified would constitute, at the very least, 100,000 copies. This both endorses the claim to pre-eminence of Tremellius' Bible, and also requires a certain re-evaluation of the supposed decline of the Latin Bible in the face of the rise of the vernacular Bible.

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[12] The last two editions appeared in 1703 and 1715. Of course, Tremellius' version was the last Protestant Latin translation published in the sixteenth century, but even so, the other versions did not match his for durability.

[13] See Appendix 4

[14] See the discussion of this problem in the previous chapter.

[15] E. S. Leedham-Green - Books in Cambridge Inventories. Book Lists from Vice-Chancellors' Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods (2 vols., Cambridge, 1986), has the following prices for Tremellius' Bibles: 6/8d, 6/8d, 12s, 15s, 12s, 12s, 4d; two were quarto, one folio, but for the remainder, no size is given.

Finally, Tremellius' Latin Bible had far-reaching consequences, while the material contained in his version was also incorporated into numerous other biblical works and translations of the Bible, both in Latin and in the vernacular. While a full consideration of the impact of Tremellius' biblical scholarship is beyond the scope of this study, it may be helpful to draw attention to a number of examples. Silverman, writing in the Encyclopaedia Judaica, for instance, notes that Tremellius' Latin Bible "had a profound impact on Hebrew studies in England during the seventeenth century",[16] although he does not elaborate upon this comment.

Leedham-Green's catalogue of books mentioned in her survey of 200 Cambridge inventories from the period 1535 to 1760 holds further indications of the impact of Tremellius' Bible in England.[17] Of the 35 professors in her sample who died between 1590 and 1760, seven were definitely in the possession of a Tremellius Bible (i.e. he is explicitly mentioned as the author).[18] In fact, these seven were all among the 21 professors who died between 1589/90 and 1608/9, which indicates that in the decades immediately following their publication, Tremellius' Bibles were finding their way into the hands of a high proportion of scholars and academics. Further, these seven Bibles constitute a sizeable proportion of the final 25 Latin Bibles included in Leedham-Green's sample. Moreover, when one considers that at least some of the other Latin Bibles, most of which are simply recorded as 'biblia latina' or 'a latin Bible', may well have been in the Tremellius-Junius version, these figures may be higher still.

As for the incorporation of Tremellius' translation and commentary into other works, probably the most famous instance of this concerns the English language edition

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16 Godfrey E. Silverman - 'Tremellius, John Immanuel' in Encyclopaedia Judaica, vol. 15 (Jerusalem, 1971), p.1374

17 E. S. Leedham-Green - Books in Cambridge Inventories. Book Lists from Vice-Chancellors' Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods (2 vols., Cambridge, 1986), esp. vol. 2, pp.97-8

18 These are: Abraham Tillman, M.A., Fellow of Corpus Christi - "Tremellius bible"; Richard(?) Mote, B.D. Fellow of St. John's - "Trimelij Bibliola <4o>"; John Cocke, B.D., Fellow of Emmanuel - "Junius & Tremellius Bible"; John Shaxton, B.D., Fellow of Trinity - "Tremellius Bible"; Randolph Davenport, B.D., Fellow of Queens' - "Biblia Tremellij"; Godwin Walsall, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke - "Biblia tremellij. fol."; Robert Some, D.D., Master of Peterhouse - "Biblia tremellij 4o". In addition, there is: Andrew Perne, D.D. Master of Peterhouse - "Trimelij novum Testamentum beze 4o".

established under the aegis of King James VI. Greenslade, in his article on English versions of the Bible in the period up to 1611, remarks that Tremellius' Bible was the version "to which [the editors of that Bible] probably resorted more than to any other single book".[19] Indeed, in summing up Tremellius' achievement, Lloyd Jones writes: "Above all else, Tremellius communicated the scholarship of the mediaeval rabbis to the group of eminent linguists responsible for the Authorised version of 1611".[20]

However, this was by no means the only work in which we can clearly identify the influence of Tremellius' biblical scholarship. For instance, R. Hill's The Contents of Scripture, of 1596, lists its material as being "Gathered from Tremellius, Iunius, Beza, Piscator and others".[21] Doreslaer's Dutch Bible of 1614, incorporates material drawn from the same individuals.[22] Tremellius' Bible was used by William Morgan in his translation of the Hebrew Bible into Welsh in 1588.[23] Paul Tossanus' Index in Sacra Biblia, of 1624, likewise, is based on the version of Tremellius, Junius and Beza.[24] In the same year, Johannes Piscator drew on Tremellius' version in his Quaestiones in Pentateuchum.[25]

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19 S. L. Greenslade - 'English Versions of the Bible A.D. 1525-1611' in Ibid. (Ed.) - Cambridge History of the Bible, vol. III, p.167

20 Jones - Discovery of Hebrew, p.52 This will be discussed more fully below.

21 R. Hill - The Contents of Scripture: containing the sum of every Booke and chapter of the old and new Testament. Gathered from Tremellius, Iunius, Beza, Piscator, and others. (The Consent of the foure Evangelists: Or The Life of Christ: collected by C.I. [i.e. Cornelius Jansenius] and placed before his Harmony. Englished for an appendix to the Contents of Scripture. To this are added an hundred Aphorismes... containing the matter and method of M. Calvins Institutions, etc. (2pt, London, 1596)

22 Abraham a Doreslaer - Biblia sacra... na de Hebreusche ende Griecksche Waerheyt getrouwelyck verduytschet. Met verclaringen ende Annotatien, van E. Tremellius, F. Junius, T. Beza ende J. Piscator. Ende nu in onse Nederlantsche Tale overgeset (Arnhem, 1614)

23 Ceri Davies - 'The Welsh Bible and Renaissance Learning' in Richard Griffiths (Ed.) - The Bible in the Renaissance. Essays on Biblical Commentary and Translation in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries (Aldershot, 2001), p.187

24 P. Tossanus - Index in Sacra Biblia locupletissimus, ex Latina I. Tremellii et F. Junii versione, quoad Vetus et T. Bezae quoad Novum Testamentum juxta postremam editionem, collectus... authore P. Tossano (2pt, Hanau, 1624)

25 J. Piscator - Quaestiones in Pentateuchum... quarum explicatione loca obscura declarantur; et insuper in quatuour libris posterioribus versio Tremellio-Juniana examinatur per J. Piscatorem... Addita est Consideratio quaestionis controversae de punctis textus Hebraici in vetere testamento (Herbornae Nassoviorum, 1624)

Dating from shortly after Tremellius' death, William Tomson's In Canticum canticorum, of 1583, includes a text of the Song of Solomon in the Tremellius-Junius translation.[26] In the following year, the future King James VI and I, himself, had cause to draw on Tremellius. In his collection of poetical writings, The Essayes of a Prentise, In the Divine Art of Poesie, one of the items is The CIII Psalme of David, translated out of Tremellius.[27] A similar exercise is John Donne's The Lamentations of Jeremy, for the most part according to Tremellius.[28] This poem, dating from around 1620, is a paraphrase of the Lamentation of Jeremiah, derived both from the Tremellius and Junius version, and also partly from the Vulgate.

Moreover, the majority of these works mention Tremellius in their titles, with the result that they appear in library catalogue entries under Tremellius' name. The number of works in which his translation, or commentary, or both, was used, but without it being explicitly mentioned as a source, is likely to be far higher. The significance and widespread impact of Tremellius' Bible, then, is quite evident. It was printed in great numbers consistently over a period of 150 years, and in numerous locations across Europe. Its direct impact is harder to chart, but the examples above indicate that this work was taken up and valued by both individuals and groups, and moreover, that it met with a highly favourable reception. Further, these various examples should again emphasise how unjustified is the modern neglect, discussed at the head of this chapter, of Tremellius' version.

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[26] William Tomson - In Canticum canticorum quod scripsit Schelomo, explanatio facilima, & coelestis plena consolationis; authore Guilielmo Tomson (London, 1583)

[27] James I - "The CIII Psalme of David, translated out of Tremellius" in Ibid. - The Essayes of a Prentise, In The Divine Art of Poesie (Edinburgh, 1584), reprinted by the Da Capo Press (Amsterdam, 1969)

[28] John Donne - 'The Lamentations of Jeremy, for the most part according to Tremellius' in Ibid. - Collected Poems (Penguin), pp.334-46. My thanks to Elaine Fulton for bringing this reference to my attention.

Publication and Appearance

As was mentioned in the last chapter, Tremellius' edition of the New Testament, made from the Syriac, was first published in 1569 in Geneva by Henricus Stephanus. It seems reasonable to conclude that, even had he begun some of the preliminary work on the Old Testament - and given the almost inevitable overlap between the material which finally made it into his Latin translation and commentary, and the content of his lectures as Professor of Old Testament studies and/or Hebrew in his various centres of education over the previous three decades, this is highly likely - it only became his primary concern at the beginning of the 1570s.[29]

A number of scholars, particularly Germans, tend to delay the initiation of this project to as late as 1573, but this would seem to be done largely to coincide with the arrival of Franciscus Junius, with whom Tremellius worked on the Bible, in Heidelberg.[30] Junius (1545-1602), having studied law in his native Bourges and theology and Hebrew in Geneva, became a pastor in Antwerp in 1565, but in 1567 he was forced to leave the Low Countries, and became pastor of the refugee church in Schonaü, near Heidelberg. Yet there is no need to assume that Tremellius had to wait until 1573 before beginning work on his translation. Carlyle remarks that Tremellius was assisted in his translation by Junius, "but the latter's share in the work was limited to translating the Apocrypha".[31] It is certainly possible that Junius contributed more than Carlyle gives him credit for. The title page of the work as a whole simply puts them down as co-authors; the only piece of evidence which gives any indication as to their respective

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[29]c.f. W. K. Jordan - Edward VI: The Young King. The Protectorship of the Duke of Somerset (London, 1968), p.197, who writes for instance that Tremellius' translation was "begun at Cambridge, but completed after he had fled from England"; however, c.f. the discussion of this theme in relation to the lectures which Tremellius delivered in Heidelberg in Chapter 4.

[30]For instance, Erich Wenneker - 'Tremellius, Immanuel' in Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz (Ed.) - Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon (Herzeberg, 1997), vol.12, column 446, writes "Ab 1573 widmete er sich seinem bedeutensten Werk, der lateinischen Übersetzung des Alten Testaments. Dabei arbeitete er mit seinem späteren Schwiegersohn Franz Junius zusammen".

[31]Carlyle - 'Tremellius, John Immanuel', p.187

roles is that only Junius is credited as an author of the Apocrypha. Especially given their previous careers, and the age difference, one must assume that Tremellius was the senior partner; it is also more than likely that he had begun work on the translation before he was joined by Junius in 1573.

The translation of the Old Testament first appeared in Frankfurt in five volumes between 1575 and 1579. Part one contains the Pentateuch. The second part, of the so-called historical books, contains Joshua to Esther. Part three contains what are termed the poetical books, running from Job to the Song of Solomon. The fourth part, the prophetical books, includes Isaiah to Malachi, while the Apocrypha constitutes the fifth. Andreas Wechel, the son of Chrétien, was responsible for this first edition; his descendants would see several more editions of this work through their presses.[32] Indeed, as Evans has commented, this Bible was "the most important book [the Wechels] ever published".[33] The Old Testament was almost immediately reprinted in London in 1579 to 1580, with Tremellius' Latin rendering of the New Testament constituting a sixth part.

Thereafter, the two went through numerous editions, and reprintings in various locations throughout Europe, including Frankfurt, London, Geneva, Hanau and Amsterdam.[34] The later editions, which appeared after Tremellius' death, were revised substantially by Junius. The "second edition" first appeared in 1590, the "third" in 1596, and a "fourth" in 1603. In these editions, the translation was revised, and extra annotations were added. While each Testament did occasionally appear on its own, more common was a complete Bible. With the exception of the first London edition, this either meant that Tremellius' Old Testament was put with Beza's New Testament, or else that Beza's and

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[32] R. J. W. Evans - 'The Wechel Presses: Humanism and Calvinism in Central Europe, 1572-1627' in Past and Present, supplement 1975, pp.1-74, including an extensive appendix of books published by the Wechel dynasty

[33] Ibid., p.41

[34] See Appendices 1 and 4

Tremellius' translations of the New Testament were printed together in parallel columns.[35]

The same approach will be taken in relation to Tremellius' Old Testament as was applied to his New Testament in the previous chapter, namely that the annotations on a representative selection of books will be subjected to a detailed analysis. Not only have these received even less attention from biblical commentators than his translation, but they also more clearly give an insight into Tremellius' mindset, and make more evident what it was he was hoping to achieve in the production of his version of the Old Testament. They indicate his priorities, how he expected, or at least hoped, his translation to be used by its readers, and what messages he wished to convey to his audience. In addition, these annotations are useful for determining the nature of the work, and its particular character; after all, it is the annotations, above all, which distinguish Tremellius' Old Testament from the other Latin translations which appeared in the same period. While the translations made from the Hebrew original, during the sixteenth century and beyond, of course vary, both in the particular translation of specific words and phrases, and in the more general degree of literalism or sense translation, they are still all based on essentially the same text; in the additional material, however, the various authors and translators had an opportunity to express themselves more freely.

As has already been noted, the annotations on each of the books are extensive, even compared with those which accompany Tremellius' New Testament. Indeed, it is quite common for the annotative material on a given chapter to equal, or even exceed, the length of the biblical text to which they refer.[36] For this reason, it is not feasible to

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[35] See Appendix 4 for which versions of the New Testament complemented the various editions of Tremellius' Old Testament.

[36] Chapter 49 of Genesis is one of the more extreme examples. Here there are around 135 lines of annotative material after the chapter which itself is comprised of 33 verses, none of which equate to more than two lines of the same size of font. Psalm 22 is 32 verses long (virtually no verse is longer than one line) and has 71 lines of annotations after it. The 17 verses of chapter one of the Song of Solomon receive exactly one hundred lines of annotations. Chapter 11 of Hosea is 11 verses in length, but is supplemented by 64 lines of extra material. Of course, there are other verses in each of these books in

consider the annotative material as a whole. Instead, a representative selection will be chosen. This selection has in part been prompted by Tremellius' own approach to the Bible mentioned above: at least one book from each of the four parts into which he divided the Bible is included. Furthermore, Genesis and Psalms have been specifically included as these were among the books most frequently used by biblical commentators of the period; for that reason, the possibility that Tremellius might have treated one or other of these books in a different manner from the rest of the Bible can not be immediately discounted. In sum, then, the analysis of Tremellius' annotations will be based on six books of the Old Testament. These are: from the books of Moses, Genesis; Ezra has been chosen from among the historical books; Psalms, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon are all poetical books; and the prophetical books are represented by Hosea.

Tremellius' Old Testament translation is heavily annotated. Unlike his New Testament, he begins each book with an 'argumentum' of half a dozen or so lines in which he sets down the principal ideas of the book which follows. Although these are usually straightforward synopses, as will be shown later, they do allow for a little gentle exegesis. Then, at the start of most, but not all chapters, there are a few lines (usually between one and four) to introduce the content of the subsequent chapter(s). These provide greater detail than the 'argumentum'. Where this kind of introduction is lacking, it is evident that Tremellius considers that two or more chapters should be considered together. This is the case, for instance, in chapters one and two of the book of Hosea. Five lines of introduction preface the first chapter; the second chapter begins immediately afterwards, with no intervening annotations. In the first annotation on chapter one, which is placed directly after the second chapter, Tremellius writes "Duo hæc capita inter se conjugenda esse nemo dubitabit, qui typum cum sua anagoga statuerit comparandum."[37]

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which the annotative material is substantially less than the text it accompanies, but overall there is at least an approximate parity.

[37] Hosea 1.1. Unlike the New Testament, the annotations to the Old Testament are not numbered; it is therefore most straightforward to refer to them according to the verses to which they correspond.

The text of the chapter is divided into two columns. Each book begins with an enlarged (it is seven lines of normal text in height), monochrome, illuminated letter. Down the side of the text are marginalia, placed as close to the points of the text to which they refer as is possible. These are listed according to the letters of the alphabet (with the exception of 'j'). Where the next chapter does not have a heading of a few lines, it follows immediately after. More often than not, however, the next chapter does have a short introduction; on those occasions, a further set of annotations appears between the chapters. These are often extensive. When a pair of chapters have been treated together, the annotations for both follow on after the second, although they are still split up according to chapter.

The annotations which come after each book are far more extensive. They are arranged as a continuous text, unlike the marginalia, which had always been given a new line for each note. The numbers of the annotations refer to the verses to which they correspond. Almost every verse receives annotation of this kind. Indeed, in many instances, there are several notes on an individual verse. In the verse itself there is a dot above the line of text and before the word or phrase to which the note refers; then, in the annotation, the word or phrase is written in bold type and is followed by a square bracket, before the accompanying note, which is written in italics. These annotations amount more or less to a commentary on the book, but it is doubtful whether they would have been used as such. As the following discussion will elucidate, the variety of types of notes would not allow for continuous reading. Moreover, with the annotations coming at the end of each chapter (and sometimes indeed after two or three chapters), it would have been difficult to read them along with the text. The conclusion that one comes to is that this work was intended primarily as a reference work, providing all the material which Tremellius felt his reader would need to interpret properly the word of God.

The Argumenta

As has already been mentioned, Tremellius begins each book with an argumentum. Other biblical translators of the sixteenth century often used the argumenta to put forward what they saw as the key ideas of the book; the more polemical would use these books to substantiate specific theological concepts. While still using this feature, Tremellius eschews any polemical overtones, and indeed, generally provides a straightforward summary of the content of the particular book. The argumentum for Genesis, although not so called, summarises the contents of the book in a sentence: "PRIMUS liber Pentateuchi, ortum mundi & Ecclesiae Dei describit, ejusque doctrinam, religionem, progressus, & mirificam bis mille trecentorum sexaginta octo annnorum gubernationem usque ad obitum Iosephi pertexit."[38] The evident concern with chronological accuracy is compounded by the list which follows this opening line: it contains each generation from Adam through to Joseph, and accompanies this with the length of time of each (adding up to the 2368 years mentioned in that first sentence), and the locations within Genesis from which these periods are taken. In the main, they come from the lists of descendants in Genesis 5 and 11, so while they create the impression of completeness, they do not give an accurate representation of the contents of the book. Instead, Tremellius is building upon the book's own efforts to give itself greater credibility through an appearance of historical impregnability. Thus the argumentum of Genesis may in some ways be regarded more as a defence of the Christian tradition as a whole than as a guide to the book in question.

There is a continuation of this concern for an exact chronology in the argumentum to the book of Ezra. Here Tremellius writes: "LIBER Hhezrae continet historiam Jehudaeorum reducum inde ab edicto Cyri usque ad decimum nonum annum Darii Artaxerxis Longimani: Estq historia septem septimanarum annorum, de quibus Danielis 9.25 id est, annorum quadraginta novem."[39] This is then supplemented by a list of the

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[38] Gen - Argumentum
[39] Ezra - Argumentum

four rulers from Cyrus through to Artaxerxes, and the lengths of their respective reigns, adding up to the 49 years just mentioned. Thus the argumentum resolves an issue of chronology, and places the biblical book within the history of Judah. However, it is of even less help for understanding the content of the book than was the argumentum of Genesis. The argumentum does not even mention the eponymous Ezra, the priest who rose to prominence during the reign of Artaxerxes. As with Genesis it is clear that the argumentum for Ezra is intended less to summarise the contents of the book or to draw attention to its main points, than to provide the necessary historical background against which the text should be considered.

Other argumenta deal with issues relating to the authorship and circumstances of composition of the biblical books. For instance, in the argumentum of Ecclesiastes, Tremellius says that it contains the profession "qua Schelomo ductus spiritu Dei" wished to testify openly to his earnest resipiscentia for his Church, and to set everyone on the path of truth.[40] Similarly at the beginning of the argumentum to the Song of Solomon, Tremellius says that this was a book "quem Schelomo conscripsit θεοπνευζως".[41] In both cases, not only is Solomon identified as the author, but it is also asserted that God was working through him. Even if only in passing, Tremellius is endorsing the claims of these two books to divine inspiration. The reader's understanding, as such, of Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon is not enhanced by such remarks; rather, Tremellius is again defending the biblical text, and by extension the Christian tradition as a whole, against possible critics.

In his treatment of Hosea, Tremellius uses the argumentum to address the issue of genre, before discussing the material contained therein. He begins: "LIBER Hoschehhæ Prophetæ versatur totus in prophetico documentorum genere."[42] He then uses the structure of the book to defend his assertion. He says that it begins by prefiguring the

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[40] Eccl. - Argumentum
[41] Song - Argumentum
[42] Hos. - Argumentum

public and private corruption ("depravationem") of the Israelites, the judgement which would come from God, and the grace ("gratiam") which God would bring to bear on those who remained. Tremellius goes on to claim that each of these three elements is played out during the remainder of the book of Hosea. In this instance, Tremellius goes beyond merely outlining the main contours of the book, although it is still clearly upon this that the argumentum is based. He relates the contents of the book to a consideration of its genre, and, as will be discussed more fully below, also uses this part of his annotative material to draw out certain basic theological ideas.

A similar approach is evident in the argumentum to the Song of Solomon. Here again, Tremellius essentially sets out the contents of the book, but in doing so, he puts his own interpretation over the top of it. In this instance, his exegesis is far from unusual: he interprets this love song as treating the relationship between Christ and the Church.[43] In the opening sentence of the argumentum he writes that the book "exponit rationem spiritualium sponsaliorum, que placuit Christo inire cum Ecclesia in terris versante".[44] He then spends another eight lines laying out each of the separate phases of this, repeatedly drawing parallels between the Church and the bride in this book. Here again, then, the content of the book is presented, but so too, and at the same time, is the key to its interpretation, at least as far as Tremellius understands it.

At the start of the argumentum to the book of Psalms, Tremellius remarks that the book "sacras cantiones continet, quæ in Ecclesia vetere fuerunt conscripte usque ad funesta tempora Antiochi".[45] He continues that because of this the book is like an "epitome veteris Testamenti speculum gratiæ Dei, absolutaq hominis totius anatome".[46] For this reason, it is worth quoting the remainder of the argumentum to Psalms in full, as this contains what Tremellius considers to be the essence of the Old Testament. He writes that in this book "exponuntur omnis generis documenta, de promissionibus operibusque

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[43] Sebastian Castellio was damned by Calvin for rejecting this view.
[44] Song - Argumentum
[45] Psal. - Argumentum
[46] Ibid.

Dei gratiosis erga suos, severis in adversarios, & in omnes fidelibus: item de fide nostra in promissiones ejus, de obsequio, de infirmitatibus, patientia, constantia, & liberatione nostra in rebus adversis, de legitimo bonorum usu & gratiarum actione in rebus secundis, denique de toto officio nostro erga Deum, & fide illius erga nos in Christo: de quo elegantissimæ & illustrissimæ prophetiæ passim ad consolationem & confirmationem Ecclesie".[47]

Of course, the argumentum to Psalms is far from typical. As a collection of songs, it does not lend itself to a summarisation of its content of the form found in most other books. Nevertheless, the more abstract overview which Tremellius provides is very helpful for coming to terms with what he considers to be the key concepts of the Testament; moreover, placed as they are at the start of this book, it is clear that Tremellius also intended that his readers should consider these as the principal themes as well. Furthermore, these ideas find regular resonance both in other argumenta, and in the annotations which Tremellius provides throughout his edition of the Old Testament.

Chapter Headings

After the argumenta, the next significant element of Tremellius' annotative material are the chapter headings. These are far shorter than the argumenta, often only lasting for a sentence or even just a clause. The heading for chapter one of Genesis reads: "Creatio totius mundi sex diebus absoluta"[48] while chapter two is entitled: "Dies septimus a Deo consecratur, opus creationis quiete diei septimi terminatum fusius enarratur, & prima sancti conjugii institutio describitur."[49] The heading of chapter 10 is "Filiorum Noachi propagatio, & ab illis omnium gentium origo describitur."[50] The use of verbs of narration in these last two emphasises the manner in which these chapter headings

[47] Ibid.
[48] Gen. - Chapter 1, Heading
[49] Gen. - Chapter 2, Heading
[50] Gen. - Chapter 10, Heading

simply summarise what is covered in the following verses. The book of Ezra contains chapter headings largely of the same kind. Chapter one is entitled: "Promulgato per Cyrum edicto, populus reditum instituit: pauperiores imperatis subsidiis juvantur: Et princeps Jehudæ sacra instrumenta ad domum Dei pertinentia, a Cyro recipit,"[51] while chapter two has as its heading: "Populus Dei qui primum cum suis ducibus & impedimentis post Cyri edictum reversus est: & oblatio ab ejus primoribus ad templi instaurationem facta, recensetur".[52] These examples are entirely typical of the book as a whole. Indeed, in none of the ten chapters of Ezra is there any effort at exegesis; the headings simply convey what is contained in each chapter.

The purpose of these kind of notes is perhaps more apparent when the nature of the argumenta is recalled. Although the argumenta do generally provide very brief synopses of the different books, their focus is often elsewhere. In both Genesis and Ezra, Tremellius spends more time and space recounting the exact chronology against which the action of these books took place, even when such is not a fair reflection of that action. The impression that one gets in these instances is that Tremellius assumed a certain level of knowledge on the part of his reader: the argumentum was not intended to reproduce the biblical text in a more manageable bite-sized piece. Rather, it provided the material which he felt the reader would need to make most sense of this, perhaps as they used the biblical text for other purposes, such as the composition of sermons or the writing of theological texts. Describing the historical context, considering issues relating to its genre, or explaining the key to interpreting to the more metaphorical texts, may all be considered part of this. Similarly, the headings to individual chapters were not intended to provide an abridged version of the Bible; more likely, Tremellius meant that they should help the reader to locate a specific passage as easily as possible.

However, the purely descriptive chapter headings are not the only sort to be found in Tremellius' translation. On other occasions, he develops certain ways of approaching

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[51] Ezra - Chapter 1, Heading
[52] Ezra - Chapter 2, Heading

and interpreting the texts through these headings; often these ways were signposted in the argumenta first. Occasionally, they do appear in Genesis. For instance, in chapter three which refers to the fall: "Natura humana a serpente diabolo decepta desciscit a Deo, imaginemq ejus labefactat, cujus instauratio per Christum mulieris semen pronectitur."[53] Chapter 7 deals with the flood: "Diluvium universale describitur, reliquiarumq ex hominibus & animantibus in arca conservatio: luculentissimum justitiæ, misericordiæ, ac providentiæ Dei testimonium."[54] In these instances Tremellius is adding a little in the way of exegesis, or, at the very least, he is going beyond what is contained in the biblical text itself.

However, this form of chapter heading is more typical of the poetical and prophetical books, where such interpretation is more necessary than in the Pentateuch and the historical books. A couple of examples drawn from Hosea and the Song of Solomon should indicate this point. In the heading to chapter one (which also covers the second chapter) of Hosea, Tremellius writes:

> Deus Prophetæ imperat ut certum typum pronuntiet Ecclesiæ Jisraelitarum, quo Jisrael totus impietatis evincatur, & severissima judicia perhorrescat propediem in totum corpus eventura: itaque pios hortatur ut solicite Ecclesiam moneant, omnes judiciorum acerbitate a malo revocat; castigationibusque tandem promittit effecturum ut ad ipsum revertantur, & reconciliati Deo per Christum vindicentur ab omni malo, obtineant omne bonum, & inter se in communione æterna gratuiti cum Deo fœderis gratulentur.[55]

Then, before Chapter 3, Tremellius writes: "Deus Jisraelitis proponit typo diuturnam labefactionem Ecclesiæ, & regni ipsorum: deinde vero restitutionem promittit gratia ipsius obventuram in Christo."[56] Clearly, Tremellius is doing more than summarising the first three chapters of Hosea in these lines. There is no mention of Christ in the book of Hosea, since, of course, the book was written before the time of Christ.

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[53]Gen. - Chapter 3, Heading
[54]Gen. - Chapter 7, Heading
[55]Hosea - Chapter 1, Heading
[56]Hosea - Chapter 3, Heading

Tremellius is writing from a sixteenth-century, Christian perspective, when it was customary for biblical commentators and others to consider the two Testaments as a whole: themes of the Old Testament found their resolution in the New. In particular, in terms of the prophetical books, many of the prophecies were seen to prefigure the salvific role played by Christ. It is these analogies which Tremellius seeks to highlight in his introductory remarks to these chapters in the book of Hosea.

A similar approach is evident in the chapter headings to the Song of Solomon. As has already been mentioned, in relation to its argumentum, Tremellius treats the Song of Solomon as a metaphorical treatment of the relationship between the Church and Christ, leading up to the marriage of the two. In the title to chapter 3, Tremellius writes: "Ecclesia exponit studium suum maximum amplius prehendendi in dies & obtinendi sponsi: deinde quia de gloria sponsi confirmata est, ostendit sibi honestius & utilius esse ut hic non detineat sponsum, sed conscendensem in thalamum suum cœlestem prosequatur."[57] Then, in the heading for chapter 5, he makes evident the second of the protagonists as well:

> Christus Ecclesiæ perfectionem laudat: & velut amore illius abreptus post quam exclamavit, celebrat suavitatem sermonum, ornamentorum, fidei, officiorum, & fructuum ejus. Quamobrem Ecclesia agnoscens, quicquid boni habet, a Christo in se perfectum esse, amplius ipsum celebrat, & sibi adesse petit ac benefacere: quod Christus ex parte annuit.[58]

Thus while it is still the case that Tremellius is summarising the content of each chapter, he is doing so in a particular way, and one that is consistent with his interpretation of the Song of Solomon as a whole. The Song of Solomon itself may be read simply as a love song. However, perhaps in order to endorse its canonicity, and to refute suggestions of lasciviousness within the Scriptures, Tremellius puts forth the familiar interpretation according to which the text may be seen to have a didactic role. Yet as this element is

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[57] Song - Chapter 3, Heading
[58] Song - Chapter 4, Heading

not apparent within the text, it must be considered as another example of the mild exegesis of the type which Tremellius favours.

Marginalia

Next to be considered are the marginal annotations. These refer principally to the Hebrew original from which Tremellius has made his translation. In them, he gives a more literal Latin rendering of the Hebrew phrase, which he has given a more stylish rendering in the translation itself. It will be remembered that this was one of the main types of annotation which Tremellius made on his translation of the New Testament from Syriac. The occasions on which Tremellius does this in his Old Testament annotations are relatively few, however. On the book of Hosea, for instance, there are 101 such annotations for 197 verses. This equates to just over one annotation of this kind for every two verses. Not only is this consonant with the fact, already mentioned, that his was a literal translation, but it further indicates that whenever he moved away from that literalness, he was still keen to show his readers what the text said exactly. This no doubt reflects both his own efforts at academic accuracy, and, more importantly, a sense that this work was aimed at those with only a limited knowledge of Hebrew.

Moreover, this is indicated not only by the relatively small number of passages he feels obliged to defend or explain, but also in the minor nature of the changes he has made from the original sense: in many cases, the expressions are largely synonymous. For instance, his notes put forward 'principio' for 'primo' in the text,[59] 'visitabo super illam' for 'animadvertam in illam',[60] 'filios Jisraelis' for 'Jisraëlitas'[61] and 'post te' for 'posterior te'.[62] This is further substantiated by the fact that various changes, or types of change, are repeated, again indicating how little Tremellius sought to deviate from

[59] Hosea 1.2 Annot. (b)
[60] Hosea 2.13 Annot. (h)
[61] Hosea 3.1 Annot. (b)
[62] Hosea 5.8 Annot. (e)

the original text. Again in the early chapters of Hosea, his annotations offer 'filiorum Jisraëlis' for 'Jisraëlitarum',[63] 'filios Jisraelis' for 'Jisraëlitas'[64] and 'filii Jisraëlis' for 'Jisraëlitae'.[65]

In addition, the marginalia contain biblical references. There are two main types of occasion on which this occurs, and both seek to draw parallels with other parts of the Bible. One highlights similarities in terms of content, and the other in terms of the language used. Even considered together, these types of annotations are far rarer than those which deal with the Hebrew text. There are only eight instances of biblical referencing for the entire book of Hosea for example.[66] At one level these may simply indicate Tremellius' familiarity with the Bible as a whole, both in terms of its content, and the language used throughout. This is particularly the case when one considers the frequency with which Tremellius draws parallels with instances drawn from other books, and indeed the New Testament. The latter also endorses the idea, referred to previously, that Tremellius strove, wherever possible, to consider the two Testaments as a unity. Moreover, although relatively infrequent, these may be considered a further device by means of which Tremellius sought to help those who wished to use his Bible as a source book for other purposes. In part they illustrate his own erudition and scholarly approach, but arguably more importantly, in laying these open to his readers, they would allow writers and sermonisers to construct tightly argued and well-substantiated cases. Tremellius by no means identifies all such parallels, but as this was by no means the primary purpose of the work, that is hardly a surprise; that they should appear at all is in itself impressive.

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63 Hosea 1.10 Annot. (i)
64 Hosea 3.1 Annot. (b)
65 Hosea 4.1. Annot. (a)
66 These are Hosea 2.18, 9.4 (a), 9.9, 10.11 (g), 12.4, 13.6, 13.9, and 14.3.

The Annotations

However, the vast majority of extra material Tremellius includes to supplement his Latin translation of the Old Testament is contained in the annotations which follow each of the chapters. It is the intention of the remainder of this chapter to identify a number of the most common features. Because there is so much of this material, because it deals with many different types and examples of biblical books, and because Tremellius seems to be led, by and large, by the text, rather than seeking to enforce his own message upon that text, it would not be possible to give a comprehensive evaluation of Tremellius' contribution. Rather, those elements which seem programmatic will be identified and considered, allowing certain broadly-based conclusions about these annotations to be drawn. These will then be followed by some more general closing remarks about Tremellius' Old Testament edition.

One of the most regular features of his annotations can be seen as an extension of the critical apparatus already discussed. Just as the argumentum laid out the basic ideas of the book as a whole, and the chapter headings set forth the contents of each of the chapters, the annotations which follow the chapters break the biblical text down still further. As they come after the biblical text to which they refer, and also because they are embedded in continuous annotative material which often exceeds the biblical text in length, it can not be imagined that these notes were ever intended to be used in place of the Scriptures. Moreover, given the way that the annotations are related to the chapter, one is always forced to start from the biblical text. In short, the remarks relating to the different parts of each of the chapters can only really be understood when they are read in conjunction with the chapters themselves. Clearly, then, the purpose of these notes, although connected to the ideas lying behind the argumenta and the chapter headings, is distinct from them.

Tremellius' annotations on Psalm 2 provide a good example of this. As part of the first note on this Psalm, he writes: "Partes autem illius sunt tres; Propositio, duobus versibus; Narratio, inde a vers. 3. & Conclusio in fine Psalmi...".[67] On the third verse, Tremellius writes: "Secunda pars, narratio; ut diximus in versum 1...".[68] The analysis continues in an annotation on verse 4: "narratio posterior, cujus partes sunt duæ: una... vers.4... vers.5 & 6. Secunda... usque ad vers. 10".[69] Finally, on verse 10, Tremellius writes: "Tertia pars psalmi, conclusio...".[70] Tremellius' views on the structural divisions of this text are quite manifest.

Unsurprisingly, this kind of note is most evident in the Psalms. Each chapter in the book of Psalms is a free-standing song or poem, with its own structure. Tremellius uses his annotations in part to identify this structure for his readers. Even when the annotations are not used to develop this dimension of analysis as fully as the example just quoted, Tremellius does tend, at the very least, to identify the basic structure of the poem in one of the earliest verses. For instance, on the second verse of Psalm 9, Tremellius writes:

> Psalmus est 'επαινετικος sive laudativus, duabus partibus constans. Prima est, laudatio singularis prophetæ, usque ad vers. 12. Secunda, hortatio ad omnes fideles pertinens, ut Deum prophetæ exemplo celebrent vers. 12. & 13: cui subjicitur forma orationis, qua utuntur pii ad opem Dei consequendam, & obtinendum istud laudationis argumentum, usque ad finem psalmi. Continent autem singulæ partes suas causas. Itaque primæ hujus partis membra sunt duo; propositio laudationis, usque ad vers. 5 & Confirmatio, inde usque ad 12.[71]

In fact, it would seem that it is very much the exception for the Psalms not to be so analysed. As the basic outline of the structure of each Psalm appears as one of the annotations it is feasible that they could have been used by the reader to locate specific parts of the poems. On the other hand, given the brevity of many of the Psalms, and the

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[67] Psal. 2.1
[68] Psal. 2.3
[69] Psal. 2.4
[70] Psal. 2.10
[71] Psal. 9.2

fact, already mentioned, that the annotations came after the verses to which they refer, it seems unlikely that this was intended to be their principal function. A further clue would seem to lie in the first clause of the quotation above. In these kind of notes, Tremellius identifies not merely the structure of the individual Psalms, but also their genre. In the case of Psalm 9 above, Tremellius considers it a laudatory Psalm, describing it as such both in Greek and Latin. The use of the Greek term may add further authority to the assessment. The identification of genre, too is a regular feature of these annotations. Psalm 2 is described as 'ανεπιγραφος',[72] while Psalms 3, 5 and 6 are described as 'ευκτικος'.[73] Psalm 4 is considered to be 'ευκτικος & διδασκαλικος',[74] as is Psalm 7.[75] It is apparent that these annotations, which treat both genre and structure, constitute a basic level of literary criticism. Tremellius is here treating the scriptures as a literary text.

This kind of genre analysis seems largely to be restricted to the Psalms, and that because of the particular, fragmented nature of that book of the Bible. If ever issues relating to genre are raised in reference to the other books, the most logical place in which they would be discussed is the argumentum, as that deals with the book as a whole, or else in the first annotations to the first chapter of that book. The example of the argumentum to Hosea, where Tremellius writes: "LIBER Hoschehhe Prophetæ versatur in totus prophetico documentorum genere",[76] has already been discussed. In the first annotation on the Song of Solomon, he writes: "Argumentum est epithalamium excellentissimum sive connubiale canticum...".[77] Similar is the first annotation on chapter one of Ecclesiastes, where Tremellius begins with the words: "Totus hic liber didascalicus est."[78] Moreover, as has already been mentioned, in his division of the Bible into separate volumes, or at least parts, Tremellius has already identified the type of text, in

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[72] Psal. 2.1
[73] Psal. 3.1, 5.1, 6.2
[74] Psal. 4.1
[75] Psal. 7.2
[76] Hosea, Argumentum
[77] Song 1.1
[78] Eccl. 1.1

his itemisation of historical, poetical and prophetical books. It is only the Psalms which can easily be considered as separate entities, and consequently this is the only book for which this more detailed and individual treatment of sub-genre is appropriate.

Having said that, however, structural analysis does often also appear in the annotations which Tremellius has appended to other books. A clear example of this comes from chapter 6 of the Song of Solomon. The annotations begin with an overview of the whole chapter:

> Hujus capitis... tres sunt precipuæ partes: prima est, qua sponsus laborantem & ingemiscentem de culpa sua sponsam consolatur..., usque ad versum 8. secunda est, qua sponsus narrat desyderium suum de conficiendis nuptiis, versu 8. tertia, qua animum suum studiumq erga ecclesiam exponit, donec advenerit nuptiarum dies, a versu 9. ad finem usque.[79]

At the appropriate places, Tremellius then refers back to these remarks. On verse 8, he begins: "Secunda pars, qua sponsus Ecclesiam consolans ostendit se non fastidio aut indignatione discessisse...",[80] while on verse 9 he writes: "tertia pars, qua exponit sponsus quid consilii ceperit...".[81] Then, in verse 10, Tremellius develops his analysis of this final section. He writes: "hic sermo Christi ad Ecclesiam tria complectitur; primum vocationem Ecclesiae, hoc versu; deinde descriptionem formæ & elegantiæ, inde ad 18. postremo promissionem de præstandis officiis... duobus ultimis".[82] This is then followed, in verse 11, by the remark: "gratulatio sponsi ad sponsam propius accedentem, continens descriptionem illius ab imo ad summum, usque ad versum 16";[83] in its turn, it is answered in verse 16 by the line: "regressio ad exclamationem patheticam versus undecimi".[84] Finally, in verse 18, he begins "tertius locus sermonis Christi, ut diximus vers. 10, continens tum promissionem officiorum quæ Christus

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[79] Song 6.1
[80] Song 6.8
[81] Song 6.9
[82] Song 6.10
[83] Song 6.11
[84] Song 6.16

Ecclesiæ interea exhibiturus est...".[85] In places, the structure is broken down still further, often identifying pairs of verses which treat two separate aspects of the same idea, for example.

Although it does not have the discussion of genre seen in the examples drawn from the Psalms, it is evident that Tremellius' treatment of this chapter of the Song of Solomon shares a number of its features, and indeed, this is typical of his annotations on the other books of the Bible. As a whole, the chapters in these other books are perhaps marginally longer than the Psalms, and as part of a continuous whole, rather than free-standing poems, which may well have been known by their individual numbers, it is more likely that at least the initial note, setting out the basic structure of each chapter, was, at least in part, intended to act as a means of locating more quickly specific parts of these books. In addition, these notes can be seen as part of the literary criticism identified in connection with the book of Psalms. This is clear not only from the analysis of the structure which runs through these notes, but also from the use of linguistic and rhetorical terms to describe the different parts of each chapter. These will be discussed more fully below.

There is a final aspect which the annotations may be seen to have, in certain cases. The first three chapters of Hosea give an indication of how this can work. As has already been mentioned, chapters 1 and 2 of Hosea are placed together in Tremellius' translation, with the annotations of both coming after chapter 2. In the first note on chapter 1, he writes: "Duo hæc capita inter se conjugenda esse nemo dubitabit, qui typum cum sua anagoga statuerit comparandum. Sunt itaque hujus prophetiæ tres omnino partes: inscriptio καθολικη, sive universalis, versu 1. typus propheticus, reliquo capite primo; & anagoge sive accommodatio typi, capite 2."[86] Then in the first annotation on chapter 2, he writes: "Hæc præcedentis typi anagoge sive enarratio (ut

[85] Song 6.18
[86] Hos. 1.1

diximus supra 1.1) est δαμηγρικη, & tribus omnino partibus concluditur...".[87] In these annotations, Tremellius draws parallels between the two chapters, and demonstrates the way in which they are connected.

In the first annotation on chapter 3, moreover, he writes: "Secunda hæc prophetia continet typum non admodum priori absimilem, tribus versibus, & explicationem illius, versu 4 & 5".[88] Here, as in the examples above, Tremellius is identifying the simple structure of what is a particularly short chapter, giving verse references for ease of comprehension. Yet in this instance, as with the quotations drawn from the first two chapters of Hosea, Tremellius is doing more than that. He is also assisting in the interpretation of these passages, and illustrating the different ways in which the message of God is conveyed. In the latter example in particular, moreover, Tremellius is supporting the integrity of the biblical text. He shows how the prophecy is immediately followed by the key to its interpretation. In other places, Tremellius can use this structural analysis to show when certain events prophesied in one part of a biblical book then do actually transpire.[89] In this way, these annotations have a certain didactic quality: they emphasise the lessons of the scriptures relating to the fulfilment of God's word.

Closely connected to the issues of structure and genre are questions relating to the linguistic and rhetorical features of the biblical text. As will be recalled, these were among the most common subjects for annotation in Tremellius' edition of the New Testament. Tremellius still demonstrates a close attention to these aspects of the Old Testament, but, as will be shown later, other considerations supplement these in a manner which goes beyond that earlier work. There are two main types of rhetorical device to which Tremellius draws attention in his comments on the books of the Old

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87 Hos. 2.1
88 Hos. 3.1
89 This kind of thing also happens at a more specific level, as the example of the annotation on Gen. 7.21 indicates. Referring to the death of all things not on the Ark during the flood, Tremellius writes: "ut prædixerat supra 6.17. & versu 4 hujus capitis".

Testament which I have subjected to a detailed analysis. The first set of such features is arguably the more 'rhetorical', in that it includes all those annotations which refer to the different parts of the chapters, which are often considered as literary arguments. This set has more in common with the structural remarks discussed above; indeed, often the two are considered alongside each other. The second set of linguistic features includes the figures of speech which are employed in these books. Considered together, moreover, these two elements to the annotative material further endorse the view, mentioned above, that, a significant element of Tremellius' approach is his treatment of the Bible as a literary text.

As just noted, Tremellius' use of rhetorical terminology corresponds with the structural analysis which he applies to the text in question. Probably the most common features so described are the final sections of different chapters and passages. On the sixth and final verse of Psalm 1, for instance, Tremellius' annotation reads "Confirmatio, sive αντιθετικη causarum explicatio, ex quibus superiora eventa bonis & malis sigillatim certa sunt".[90] The same term is also used in the first annotation on the final verse of Psalm 9: "Confirmatio hortamenti a benignitate Dei."[91] In Ezra, similarly, on the final verse of chapter 9, Tremellius writes: "Conclusio, qua justitiam Deo tribuit...".[92] On other occasions, rhetorical terms of a similar type crop up in the middle of his analysis. For instance in Genesis 17, when God, speaking to Abraham, refers again to the covenant, the corresponding note reads: "altera pars foederis, restipulatio".[93] On the tenth Psalm, on the expression 'O Jehovah', Tremellius' note reads: "Exclamatio pathetica ad conciliandam misericordiam...".[94] On some occasions, Tremellius even deals with a whole chapter in such terms. In his treatment of the ninth Psalm, for instance, he identifies two separate rhetorical features which constitute the principal parts of that text. He writes: "Prima est, laudatio singularis prophetæ, usque ad vers. 12.

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[90] Psal. 1.6
[91] Psal. 9.13
[92] Ezra 9.15
[93] Gen. 17.9
[94] Psal. 10.16

Secunda, hortatio ad omnes fideles pertinens... vers. 12 & 13".[95] The different parts of the 'laudatio' and the 'hortatio' are then developed over the subsequent annotations.

Hosea 2, which has already been considered above, provides a further clear example of where rhetorical terminology of this kind is used to embellish the structural analysis of a chapter. Having explained that the second chapter of this book is an "anagoge sive enarratio" of the previous chapter, he says that there are three points to this: "prima est adhortatio piorum ut fratres suos Ecclesiamq Jisraelitarum revocent ad resipiscentiam, versibus quatuor; secunda est ætiologia, a narratione maleficiorum quibus Jisraelitæ tenebantur, & futuræ administrationis Dei, ver. 5. & duobus seq. tertia est superiorum concionis partium exornatio, ad finem usque capitis".[96] As one might expect, these different parts receive further attention at the appropriate parts in the commentary.

On verse 5, Tremellius draws attention to the beginning of the next section: "ætiologia, ut diximus in versum 1...".[97] He makes more of the next step, at verse 8, when he writes: "transitio ad exornationem ... Hujus exornationis partes sunt hæ: explicatio... usque ad versum 14, & revocatio...ad finem usque capitis".[98] Again, these terms show how Tremellius is approaching the Old Testament as a literary text. That he should do so not only reflects his humanist training and approach, but also indicates that he was confident that the Bible, as a source of ancient wisdom, could withstand the same scrutiny as was applied to classical texts.

This is also evident in Tremellius' identification of the many figures of speech which appear throughout the Old Testament. Synecdoche is one of the most commonly identified devices. In Ezra, when Rehum and his scribe wrote a letter of accusation against the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the annotation which accompanies this passage reads: "id est, summus Senatus transfluvialis, per synechdochen: nam hi duo præsides

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[95] Psal. 9.2
[96] Hos. 2.1
[97] Hos. 2.5
[98] Hos. 2.8

erant".[99] In Ecclesiastes 2, on the expression 'miscebo vinum laete', Tremellius writes: "verba hominis se ipsum ad hilariter agendam vitam cohortantis. Ponitur autem unum genus commoditatis, quo homines hilarantur: sed synecdochice comprehenduntur omnia...".[100] In Genesis 16, which treats Hagar, by whom Abram had a child, and her flight from Sarah, on the expression 'jam video post videntem me', Tremellius writes: "id est, lucem hanc aspicio & vivo: Synecdoche, unius functionis vitæ pro tota vita".[101] He draws parallels with passages in Exodus and Samuel, before continuing: "Miratur enim se post Dei visionem vivere: quia a conspectu Dei aut Angeli mortem secuturam putabant...". In fact, synecdoche would appear to be the most common feature highlighted by Tremellius: he identifies it on more than ten occasions in the first 25 chapters of Genesis alone, for instance. Indeed, it is evident that certain synecdoche were used on a regular basis. On Genesis 4.26, where the biblical text reads, "tunc cœptum est profanari in invocanda nomine Jehovæ", Tremellius writes: "id est, in cultu Dei: species pro genere; synecdoche frequens...".[102]

Other figures of speech, too, come in for comment. Metaphors are often identified, and commonly explained. In Psalm 4, on the 'dilatasti' of the expression 'in angustia dilatasti mihi locum', Tremellius writes: "id est, liberasti ex angustia: metaphora".[103] Similarly, on Psalm 9, where the biblical text reads 'Et sit Jehova editus locus attrito', the corresponding annotation reads "id est, arx & propugnaculum. metaphora...".[104] Again, it is not surprising that the Psalms, as a collection of songs, should contain many metaphorical expressions, and therefore that Tremellius should draw attention to these in his annotations, but it is evident that this phenomenon was by no means restricted to that book. For instance, a note of this sort appears in Ezra 9. On the expression 'dando

[99] Ezra 4.8
[100] Eccl. 2.2
[101] Gen. 16.13
[102] Gen. 4.26
[103] Psal. 4.2
[104] Psal. 9.10

nobis maceriam in Jehudah & Jeruschalaimis', he writes: "id est, nos circumquaque muniendo: metaphora".[105]

Similarly figurative language is identified in the Song of Solomon. Where Solomon describes the bride as a garden through which flows a fountain, on the description of the fountain, 'viventium; & fluventium', Tremellius writes: "perennium & abundantissimarum: quibus verbis figuratur infinita omnibus numeris benificentia Christi".[106] Clearly, in this instance, Tremellius goes even further beyond a simple interpretation of a figurative expression, to a level of exegesis; this latter will be treated more fully below.

Allegorical expressions are also highlighted. On chapter 3 of the Song of Solomon, for instance, Tremellius draws attention to one of the many allegories of that book. On the line 'Jam surgam, & obibo civitatem, per vicos & per plateas quæram eum quem diligit anima mea...', Tremellius writes: "hæc omnia allegorice humanitusq; dicta sunt, pro eo quod est, quæram ex toto studio & tota facultate mea".[107] Then on the following verse, which runs 'Invenientibus me custodibus qui obeunt civitatem dixi, an eum quem diligit anima mea vidistis?', he writes: "continuatio allegoriæ, pro eo quod est: in quoscunque incidebam, etiam præfectos custodiæ publicæ non dissimulabam...".[108] Similarly, on Hosea, on the line 'Ligabit ventus istam alis suis', Tremellius writes: "altera causa... levissimi, inquit, & ignominiosissimi principes isti, tanquam vento paleæ, abripientur judicio Dei, quamobrem merito Jehuda ab istis abstinere debet: allegoria in scriptura frequens".[109] Many more examples of these features appear, even within the selection of books considered for the purposes of this analysis. In addition, numerous figures of speech, including apostrophe,[110] paraphrase,[111] metonymy,[112] prosopy (i.e.

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105 Ezra 9.9
106 Song 4.15
107 Song 3.2
108 Song 3.3
109 Hos. 5.19
110 e.g. Song 1.7, 2.7, 2.14, 6.10; Hosea 4.5, 4.6, 4.15, 8.5
111 e.g. Song 5.11, 6.11, 7.6; Eccl. 1.17; Hosea 5.2
112 e.g. Song 5.15; Eccl. 2.3; Hosea 4.12

personification),[113] and hyperbole,[114] to name only some of the most common, also receive comment.

Just like his concern with structure and genre, and the use of rhetorical terminology, these annotations endorse the view that a significant proportion of Tremellius' annotations treat the Scriptures simply as a text which can withstand the same kinds of scrutiny as the humanists applied to all texts. When one further considers that Tremellius was inclined to provide as literal a translation as possible (and his use of the marginal annotations to give further clues as to the nature of the original text), one can see that he had a very high regard for the Hebrew scriptures, not only for their content, but also for the way in which they were written. In drawing out the various features which have so far been highlighted, Tremellius was emphasising one element of the Scriptures which could often be overlooked in the rush to uncover the teachings to be derived from them. Underlying Tremellius' attitude, then, is the belief that the Old Testament, as well as being the most important source for the Christian life, was a well-written text.

At the same time, however, through his annotations are regular references to other parts of the Bible. It is evident that the Bible, and that term is used to include both the Old and New Testaments, is considered as a unity, and indeed, can even be used as the key to its own interpretation. The most obvious and common type of biblical referencing, apparent both in the marginal annotations and in the notes which follow each of the chapters, are those occasions where parallel passages are highlighted. For instance, in a note on Ezra 3, Tremellius writes: "id est, dum adhuc existeret: fuerat enim domus eversa tantum ante sexaginta annos, id est, captivitatis undecimo, 2. Reg. 25 & 2.Chron.36 & Jechezkel 40".[115] On Ezra 1, on the word 'cujuscunque', the note reads: "etiam ex aliis tribubus, ut apparet ex 1 Chron. 9.3";[116] in the following chapter, which

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113 e.g. Hosea 10.13
114 e.g. Song 6.19; Hosea 4.3; Psal. 6.7
115 Ezra 3.12
116 Ezra 1.5

consists of a list of those exiles who returned with Zerubbabel to Jerusalem, on 'Gibbaris', the accompanying annotation reads: "Gibhhonitæ & Binjamine, ut apparet ex Nechem 7.25".[117] In a note on the oil carried to Egypt mentioned in Hosea 12, Tremellius writes: "id est, munus honorarium ad conciliandum Regem, de quo 2 Reg. 17.4 sic Jeschahh 57.13".[118] This type of note is ubiquitous throughout the annotations on the Old Testament. Generally, they direct the reader to other passages where extra information, concerning what is being discussed, may be found, or else to parts of the Bible where the same subject matter is being treated. This can be at both a tangible and an intangible level: props and ideas can each be so illustrated.

Similar, but more technical, is where the same approach is applied to the language of the biblical text. This is especially, but not universally, the case where the words used in the Scriptures are unusual in some way; as these annotations deal with the Hebrew text itself, it is much more common for these notes to appear in the annotations which run alongside the text, rather than in those which follow it, but this is not an absolute rule. For instance, in one of the marginal annotations on Genesis 1, on the word 'alata', Tremellius writes: "Heb. ale: substantivum constructum pro adjectivo suo, ut infra 30".[119] Similarly, in the marginalia of Ezra 3, on the word 'unanimiter', the annotation reads: "Heb. sicut vir unus: ut Judic. 20.1",[120] while in the notes which accompany Ecclesiastes 2, on the verb 'factum est', Tremellius writes: "Heb. fecerunt: personale pro impersonali: ut Ijobi 7.3".[121]

It is unlikely that such notes would have been of use to many of his readers. Instead, it seems more probable that they serve a rather more academic function. Tremellius is helping the reader to gain a more accurate picture of the text of the original, but at the same time he is also defending the particular way that he has translated these

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117 Ezra 2.20
118 Hos. 12.2
119 Gen. 1 (e), v.21
120 Ezra 3 (a), v.1
121 Eccl. 2 (n), v.13

expressions. Drawing on similar examples from other parts of the Bible, he demonstrates his broader knowledge of the language of the Bible as a whole, indicates his consistency through his translation of the Old Testament, and indeed uses the Scriptures themselves to back up his translation.

Moreover, this type of annotation gives something of an insight into the way Tremellius has arrived at his translation. By and large, the translation simply exists; at best, Tremellius provides a more literal version of an expression he has rendered differently in the final version, or else he provides an alternative translation, but almost without exception, his preferences are left unexplained. Indeed, Tremellius offers disappointingly little to the historian wishing to get at the principles which lie behind his translation of the Old Testament. Yet these annotations, just discussed, where similar expressions from other parts of the Bible are cited in defence of a particular translation begin to hint at one way in which Tremellius worked. More generally, he sometimes allows the text to explain itself, through his annotations. On Psalm 9, for instance, one note refers to an idea raised in one verse, and indicates that it can be understood from the Psalm itself: "ut quatuor versus sequentes explicant".[122] Similarly, in the early chapters of Ezra, the following comments appear in the annotations: "quorum omnium summa generalis sequente versu exponitur"[123] and "ut colligitur ex comparatione hujus versiculi cum praecedente & sequente".[124] Genesis 23 has a similar annotation: "sicut apparet ex fine cap. seq.".[125] This attention to what is contained both in adjoining passages, and in those further away, must have had an impact on his translation as a whole. Underlying his approach was that, at least in part, the Bible could itself be used as an interpretive key.

Beyond this, Tremellius does offer comments on the Hebrew text, and further, although rarely, he goes as far as to explain the grounds upon which he has manipulated the

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[122] Psal. 8.6
[123] Ezra 1.10
[124] Ezra 2.60
[125] Gen. 23.2

original text, or to offer reasons as to why he has produced the translation that he has. As noted before, the comments on the Hebrew text are to be found principally in the marginal annotations. Incidentally, it should be pointed out that the text of a letter, written in Chaldaean, forms a sizeable part of the book of Ezra; Tremellius treats this as he does the Hebrew text, although, of course, the marginal annotations begin 'Chal' rather than 'Heb'. For instance, on an expression used in Genesis 3, 'gratissimam esse illam oculis', Tremellius writes: "Heb. desyderium esse in oculis: sed ex linguae proprietate substantivum (ut vocant) abstractum pro adjectivo gradus superlativi ponitur...".[126] Later in the same chapter, he compares a Latin expression with its Greek equivalent, when he writes: "hac voce σωεκδοχικως bonos Latinitatis autores secuti utimur, propter inopiam Latinæ linguæ: Græci αβιλισκον dicunt: vulgus laminam sive folium".[127]

Occasionally, Tremellius actually goes so far as to give an indication of certain of the ways in which he has dealt with the text at hand. On Genesis 2, which describes the Creation, on the expression 'opus suum quod fecerat', Tremellius writes: "Heb. opere suo, quod creaverat Deus, faciendo. Verborum εμπλοκη quam nos, ut sensus planior esset, mutavimus".[128] On chapter 5 of the same book, which concerns the descendants of Adam, on the expression 'propterea quod maledixit Jehova terre', the marginal annotation reads: "Heb. propter terram cui maledixit Jehova. Trajectio, & verborum εμπλοκη: quam nos ad evidentiam restituimus. Similem vide 1 Schemuel 24.20".[129] The contrast with his version of the New Testament is evident. Tremellius' Latin version of the New Testament was the first to be made from the Syriac. Consequently, the procedure of correcting the base text was more appropriate in that case. In relation to the Old Testament, however, which had been subjected to much scholarship in the preceding century, there remained far less ground for discussion or improvement, and this type of annotation is consequently rather more rare. That Tremellius should still

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126 Gen. 3 (c), v.6
127 Gen. 3 (g), v.22
128 Gen. 2 (a), v.2
129 Gen. 5 (d), v.29

occasionally add to this is noteworthy, but it is also clear that his general approach to the Hebrew text was one of comment rather than emendment.

Although, unlike his New Testament translation, Tremellius makes no comment on the text upon which he has based his version of the Old Testament, a further contrast with that earlier work is that here he does refer to other works that he consulted, in his annotations. Generally these other sources are used to shed light on, or to confirm, factual information contained within the biblical text; above all, they are historical or geographical in nature. Consequently, such references tend to be concentrated in certain books, and lacking in others. There is little evidence of other works having been consulted in the annotations to the Psalms for instance.

Although described as a 'prophetical' book according to Tremellius' division of the Bible, Ezra does still have a very clear historical context, and therefore such annotations are more appropriate here. Indeed, there are about half a dozen references to sources beyond other parts of the Bible. Some of these are rather vague. On the list of nations who subscribed to the letter written to Artaxerxes, which in Tremellius' Latin translation runs as follows: 'Dinæi, & Aparscatcæi, Tarpelæi, Aparsæi, Arcevæi, Babylonii, Schuschancæi, Dehavæi, Hhelamæi', the annotation reads: "id est, ut geographi nominant Dennani, Paræteceni, Tapyri, Persæ, Araceni, Babylonii, Susani, Daritæ qui etiam Zapavorteni & Medorum pars...".[130] There is no indication of who these 'geographers' are, but the vagueness may simply reflect the fact that Tremellius was drawing on the work of several different authors, and to identify which name was drawn from which author would have taken an unnecessary amount of space.

A similar expression appears a couple of chapters later. When discussing the place Ecbatana, which Tremellius renders as 'Achmete' in his translation, in the corresponding annotation, he writes: "i. Echatanis, ut authores vocant, ubi regia erat

130 Ezra 4.9

Mediæ". Again, the authors are left unspecified. Perhaps on this occasion, Tremellius felt that the sources were unified on this point. In the second part of this note, he refers to one geographer in particular: "fortassis ita dicta, quod reges æstivam stationem illic haberent, ut hybernam Seleuciæ ad Tigrim: Strabo lib.11: Est enim Achmeta Chaldaice, quæsi locus æstivus".[131] About a list of places mentioned in Ezra 2, Tremellius writes: "nomina locorum sunt in Babylonia & Mesopotamia, videtur autem Tel Melach esse oppidum quod Ptolemæus Telme vocat; significat enim cumulum salsum sive sterilem, ut erant agri sub Ure Chaldæorum, in quos rivi Euphratis ducti sunt: teste Plinio natur. histo. lib. 6.27".[132] The following note, from the same verse, deals with another place name: "ad orientem Babyloniæ, quod vel nomen indicat: fortsassis quæ Ptolemæo Talatha ad Tigrim".[133]

On Ezra 6, Tremellius cites two historical writers in a note on the king of Assyria: "i. Darii Medi, qui primus gratiam & authoritatem Jehudæis conciliavit, Danielis 6 nam ex quo Arbactus præfectus Mediæ, sublato Sardanapalo, regnum Assyriorum obtinuit: promiscue nominatum est regnum Assyriæ ex jure, & Mediæ ab origine regum: vide Justinum lib. 1. & Diodorum Siculum lib.3....".[134] Finally, on the 'river' mentioned in Ezra 8, Tremellius writes: "Maarsarem Ptolemæo, sive Neharsarin. i. fluvium principalem dictum, qui in unum e lacubus Chaldaicis funditur, ubi est oppidum Betava".[135] The nature and format of these types of annotations should now be evident. Tremellius is generally trying to tie in names and places mentioned in the Bible with historical and geographical works which either deal with the same period, or else the same locations. Sometimes the attributions remain speculative, but the overall impression is that he was seeking, through these annotations, further to defend the Christian tradition. In providing these references, and explanations, he was, in effect,

131 Ezra 6.2
132 Ezra 2.59
133 Ezra 2.59
134 Ezra 6.22
135 Ezra 8.15

building a case for the historical reality of the events described in the Bible. Again, these are academic annotations of the sort mentioned previously.

At the same time, however, it is also clear from these annotations that the specific works to which he was referring are either unnamed, or at best appear in a highly abbreviated form. Occasionally book and chapter numbers are included, but this is by no means a universal feature. These annotations, although heading in the direction of modern footnotes, contain less information, and require much more effort, on the part of the reader, to use them effectively. One cannot ignore the possibility that, at least in part, Tremellius was seeking to demonstrate his own learning. Secondly, these references help to build up a general picture of academic authority arraigned in defence of the Scriptures. That these references might actually be pursued by the reader is thus only one of the multiple roles which they fulfil.

Nonetheless, it is worth identifying a number of the works which Tremellius uses. From Ezra, we already have mentions of Strabo, book 2,[136] three references to Ptolemy,[137] Pliny's 'Natural History',[138] Justinus[139] and Diodorus Siculus.[140] In the Song of Solomon, Tremellius refers to Pliny on several occasions.[141] In Ecclesiastes, there are further references to Pliny,[142] Tullius,[143] Ovid,[144] and Cicero.[145] In Genesis, there are numerous references to Pliny's Natural History,[146] Dioscorides,[147] and to Ptolemy.[148] In the annotations to chapter 10, Tremellius even goes so far as to compare different authors. For instance on the place name Pathru'sim ('Pattrusaeos'), his

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136 Ezra 6.2
137 Two in Ezra 2.59 and 8.15
138 Ezra 2.59
139 Ezra 6.22
140 Ezra 6.22
141 Song 1.14, 1.17, 6.1, 6.18
142 Eccl. 1.6, 1.7, 1.7
143 Eccl. 2.1
144 Eccl. 2.9
145 Eccl. 2.15
146 Gen. 2.10 & 2.14, 6.14, 11.3
147 Gen. 2.12
148 Gen. 8.4

annotation reads: "Phaurusios Ptolemæo, Pharusios Plinio, ab autore Pattroso...".[149] The difficulties in matching up ancient names are quite clear throughout this book, and indeed are evident through much of the book of Genesis as a whole. Tremellius only seems to use these other authors when they can support what he wants to say, or at least when they offer plausible suggestions; at no point does he criticise them, dismiss the information they contain, or even favour one over another. In addition, there are a handful of references which appear to be to the Church Fathers, who seem to be considered as a group together, rather than as individual authors. For instance, when discussing the animals which were taken onto the Ark, Tremellius writes: "aptis ad sacrificia: nam mundorum & immundorum discrimen divinitus fuerat Patribus revilatum".[150] Similarly, in the Song of Solomon, speaking of 'Christus mysticus', he remarks "ut patres dixerunt".[151]

This is by no means an exhaustive list of the references either to the Church Fathers or to the secular sources consulted by Tremellius in the course even of just the books analysed for the purpose of this discussion. It is possible that other sources were used, and even that specific Church Fathers come in for mention in other parts of the Bible. Even so, the examples given here demonstrate the range and something of the focus of these additional works. They indicate that Tremellius was well-read, but also that the works he used were familiar classics of their respective genres. The fact that either abbreviated titles, or no titles at all, could be used, would suggest that he believed his educated readers would know to what he was referring. Interestingly, at least in the six books considered as part of this study, there is no explicit reference to any Jewish or rabbinic source. It will be remembered that in the lectures he delivered in Heidelberg, considered in Chapter four, he referred quite freely to a range of such sources; in addition, as the discussion of Jones in the review of scholarship on Tremellius' Bibles brings out especially, Judaic scholarship clearly underpinned his translation. That it

149 Gen. 10.14
150 Gen. 7.2
151 Song 7.6

should do so covertly is quite revealing: Tremellius valued the insights which it gave him, but at the same time appreciated the potentially dangerous position in which he was working, and consequently remained reticent about this aspect of his work.

Yet while the references to these different authors and texts are relatively rare, it is clear that his reading of these, and many other works have still had an impact on many more of his annotations. A further regular feature of the annotative material of Tremellius' Old Testament, is the provision of extra information to aid the comprehension of what is being said in the biblical text. For instance, on Psalm 5, Tremellius devotes quite a lengthy note to discuss the nature of the musical instruments mentioned in its title. He writes:

> Hebræis Nechiloth dicuntur ea musicorum instrumentorum genera, quæ tubulata sunt atque excavata; cujusmodi fuerunt sacerdotum tubæ & Levitarum buccinæ; quod genus instrumentorum quia sonum edit immisso vento, pneeumaticum appellatur: Hhebreis vero Nechila, id est, perforatum, per contractionem pro Nechilla, mutata vocali brevi in longam....[152]

The text of Ezra 6 talks of the month of Adar, so in the corresponding note Tremellius writes: "qui duodecimus est, & maxima ex parte Februario nostro respondet".[153] In chapter 10 of Genesis, which contains a long list of Noah's descendants, most of the notes indeed provide extra information relating to the names and places there mentioned. While some of the remarks are defended by reference to authorities like Pliny and Strabo, the majority are not.

On other occasions, Tremellius simply draws out what is contained elsewhere in the text. Here he often shows his predilection for chronological accuracy. Where the biblical text of Genesis refers to events occurring in the six hundredth year of the life of Noah, Tremellius has included a note in which he says: "qui fuit mundi 1656".[154]

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[152] Psal. 5.1
[153] Ezra 6.15
[154] Gen. 7.11

Similarly, on the following chapter, referring to the date on which the Ark came to rest on Mount Ararat, a note reads: "id est 151. die a cœpto diluvio".[155] Early in the book of Ezra, where the text refers to the seventh month ('Cum autem advenisset mensis septimus'), Tremellius provides an annotation which says: "id est, in Autumno: quia primum anniversarium festum a Deo præscriptum, post eorum reditum in mensem istum incidit".[156] These annotations, it would seem, are simply intended to facilitate the reader's comprehension of the text, and to place it in its chronological context. Although there is nothing preventing the individual reader from working these details out himself, Tremellius has considered them worth including. Again, it appears that he was keen to provide as much as possible that might be helpful for whatever way his audience chose to approach the Bible.

An extension of this approach is when Tremellius moves from providing extra material relating to the practicalities of the biblical text, to commenting on some of the ideas contained within the Old Testament. This is not exegesis of a kind generally associated with religious writers of the sixteenth century. There is little in the way of an over-arching confession of faith around which his comments are arranged, and indeed, as the preceding analysis had indicated there were many things which he was trying to achieve in his translation and the accompanying annotations. His gentle exegesis should be considered in this context: it was essentially just another way in which he was seeking to make the text more accessible to his audience. Of course, as the subsequent paragraphs will show, certain underlying principles can be identified, but this remains an unconfessional work. There is little to which any Christian, of whichever branch, would take issue.

At the most basic level, Tremellius simply helps his reader with the interpretation. This is the case for instance in the very first annotation which he makes on the Old Testament. In his note on the first verse of Genesis 'In principio creavit DEUS cælum

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155 Gen. 8.4
156 Ezra 3.1

& terram', Tremellius writes: "Sensus est, Deus principio facturus cælum & terram, creavit impolitum chaos, quod postea suppeditavit cælestibus terrestribusque corporibus formandis materiam".[157] Similarly, on the second chapter, in a verse describing the nakedness of Adam and Eve immediately before the Fall, Tremellius writes: "sensus est, non erat ante lapsum inhonestam, quod postea propter peccatum factum est probrosum".[158] In these instances, he is simply making more clear the ideas contained within these verses. These are typical of the vast majority of the exegetical annotations; many more examples could be supplied.

However, there are also certain underlying theological principles which occasionally surface during the course of the annotations. Again evident right at the start of Genesis is Tremellius' concern with the Trinity. For instance, in verse 3 of chapter 1, where God creates light ('Tum dixit Deus: Esto lux, & fuit lux'), Tremellius writes: "Deus Pater, filius & Spiritus sanctus: sic deinceps in opere creationis".[159] He is even more explicit when he comes to deal with the creation of man, in verse 26 ('Postea dixit Deus, faciamus hominem in imagine nostra, secundum similitudinem nostra...'), writing: "non Angelos hic alloquitur, aut elementa, nam creationis gloriam sibi soli servat: neque honoris causa sic de se loquitur, quia mos ille non ita est antiquus, aut in prima persona receptus: sed secum statuit Deus Pater, Filius, & Spiritus sanctus, unicus Deus, tres distinctæ personæ. Estque hic non obscurum S. Triados testimonium".[160]

These two references to the Trinity seem rather gratuitous: there is no need for them to be included in the annotations, and they are not prompted directly by the text. Rather, it seems that Tremellius has added them in himself, with some specific aim in mind. It may have something to do with a desire to prove his orthodoxy as a converted Christian; in particular it may have been prompted by the wish to distance himself from the antitrinitarianism prevalent in certain parts of Italy, from where he himself originated.

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[157] Gen. 1.1
[158] Gen. 2.25
[159] Gen. 1.3
[160] Gen. 1.26

Alternatively, and more positively, it may reflect a belief that such remarks were prompted by these passages or the belief that certain basic principles ought to be promoted in his work. In any case, it is evident that these views would have been acceptable throughout Christendom; indeed in the mid-century, Servetus' advocacy of antitrinitarian views had brought upon him the criticism of all branches of the Christian faith; by contrast, Tremellius' remarks could be expected to bring praise from all quarters.

More specific than his emphasis of the Trinity however, was Tremellius' christocentrism. This is apparent throughout his treatment of the Song of Solomon, for instance. In his annotation on the first verse of that book, Tremellius writes: "...Argumentum est epithalamium excellentissimum sive connubiale canticum, quo Schelomo decantavit sacram illam augustissimam & beatissimam desponsationem conjunctionemq Christicum Ecclesia, quam æternus ipsius amor erga Ecclesiam conciliavit, & continet, beneficentiaq promovet".[161] The allegorical interpretation according to which Tremellius treated the Song of Solomon, seeing the love song as describing the relationship and ultimate union between Christ and the Church, as has been noted before, was a familiar one, and it might be considered unrepresentative on this theme.

Yet it is evident that this concern with Christ was prevalent throughout the Old Testament. In Psalm 2, where God refers to 'filius meus', Tremellius writes: "id est, adoptatus in vocationem & administrationem regni Dei; quod & typice ad Davidem, & perfecte ad Christum accommodari debet...",[162] and indeed there are numerous references to Christ in this and several of the other Psalms. Again it may be objected that these as poetical books leave themselves particularly open to this level of interpretation, and that to do so was quite a familiar activity in the sixteenth century, but the Christological references are not even restricted to the 'poetical' books. In his

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[161] Song 1.1
[162] Psal. 2.7

consideration of Genesis, on the tree of life, mentioned in chapter 2, Tremellius writes: "non erat in ea vita: sed Christi symbolum fuit, qui est vita nostra, dataque fuit, ut esset vitæ divinitus acceptæ & conservandæ sacramentum".[163]

Though not ubiquitous (there is no mention of Christ in Ezra, for instance), Christological references would seem to be a regular feature of Tremellius' annotations. More often than not, he would seem to be highlighting locations where commenting on Christ was not unprecedented. On the other hand, given the low level of exegesis throughout his annotations, this is still highly noteworthy. The remarks about his attention to the Trinity are equally valid in this regard. At one level they may have deflected criticism from his work, but they could equally reflect his own viewpoint. Perhaps more importantly, they could not have, in themselves, prompted criticism from any branch of the Christian faith. Again, they would seem in keeping with his eirenic approach to his Christianity. That this was a key element in his exegesis goes some way to explaining how his edition of the Bible met with such widespread acclaim.

Very occasionally, though, particularly in the Christocentric elements of his exegesis, one senses that there may be slightly more to this than simply the affirmation of some of the most basic Christian doctrines. One of the best examples of this comes from Song of Solomon 4, where the garden fountain is discussed. The verse runs: 'O FONS hortorum, putee aquarum viventium; & fluentium supra quam Libani'. On the expression 'viventium & fluentium', Tremellius writes: "id est, perennium & abundantissimarum quibus verbis figuratur infinita omnibus numeris benificentia Christi".[164] This reference to the infinite benefits of Christ calls to mind one of the seminal texts to emerge from pre-Tridentine Italy, the anonymous Beneficio di Christi. Recent scholarship has suggested that Marcantonio Flaminio, with whom Tremellius had been familiar in Pole's company in Padua, was one of its principal authors. The Beneficio di Christi, which drew together many contemporary intellectual and

[163] Gen. 2.9
[164] Song 4.15

theological trends together in a highly spiritual guide for the Christian, endorsing certain Protestant thoughts, without encouraging a break from the Catholic Church, has often been considered to exemplify the entire 'spirituali' movement from which it emerged. Given that Tremellius himself had been part, if not one of the foremost names, of this group, it would not be so surprising were he to have been imbued by some of its ideas, and indeed, this element of his exegesis would appear to be the best evidence of this. Above all, the belief in the salvific qualities of the crucified Christ for the individual, faithful Christian, through the unmerited gift of grace, occasionally suggested in the annotations accompanying his Bible translation, would link Tremellius with this movement.

Conclusion: Reading Tremellius' Bible

Tremellius' Latin Bible was one of the most important works to emerge from the Reformation, even if it has received only scant attention from historians since. Yet the preceding analysis has identified a number of its chief qualities, and the reasons why contemporaries were so impressed by it. At this stage, and by way of some concluding remarks, it may be worth considering how Tremellius hoped his Bible (and here we may speak of his Old and New Testaments together, because they were clearly directed towards the same ends) would be read, and what messages he wished to impart. In so doing, not only should we come to a better understanding of Tremellius' enterprise, but we may also be in a stronger position to appreciate both the reasons for, and the nature of, the impact which these works had upon their audience.[165]

Given the spirit of the times, Tremellius' concerns in the production of his translation of the Bible may strike us as rather surprising. There was a theological element to his

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165 For a broader discussion of how a range of works from antiquity were read in this period, see Anthony Grafton - Commerce with the Classics: Ancient Books and Renaissance Readers (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1997)

annotations, but the ideas that he did include were far from developed or contentious. His Christocentricity and Trinitarianism were concepts which would have been acceptable to members of all the main Christian faiths; at the same time, they served to distance Tremellius from his Jewish heritage, and thereby to strengthen his Bible's claim to orthodoxy. Elsewehere, as we have seen, in his annotations on the Old Testament, Tremellius does occasionally go in for rather smaller and more subtle pieces of exegesis, but in those instances, it is evident that he seeks to let the Biblical text speak for itself: if there is any indication of his Calvinist affiliation, it is only ever of the most gentle kind.

Especially when compared with other works to emerge from the period, this disinclination to become involved in confessional polemic is in fact one of the most striking features of Tremellius' work as a whole.[166] Although at least nominally intended to bolster the Calvinist faith, these books would have been acceptable to virtually all Christians. Indeed, as we saw in the previous chapter, his New Testament only just fell foul of the Catholic censors; there would have been very little in his edition of the Old Testament either which might have provoked their condemnation. At the same time, however, this was not a work for everyone. It was a translation into Latin, rather than one of the vernaculars; consequently, its audience would have been limited, but international.

But Tremellius was doing more than simply providing another Latin rendering of the Scriptures. The annotations with which he supplemented both volumes dealt with issues relating to the original text of both testaments, to the language used in them, and to explaining obscure passages, unfamiliar details, and alien practices. Tremellius, as a Bible translator and commentator, was making this essential text as comprehensible for his audience as possible. One was not supposed to draw specific lessons from his

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[166]See for instance the discussion of Calvin's exegesis of the book of Job in Susan E. Schreiner - Where Shall Wisdom Be Found? Calvin's Exegesis of Job from Medieval and Modern Perspectives (Chicago and London, 1994), especially pp.121-55

treatments of different passages, as was the case with certain other translations; after all, Tremellius was first and foremost an academic and a humanist, rather than a theologian. His proficiency in Hebrew and his experience of Judaic culture and practices, which distinguished him from almost all of his contemporaries in Europe during this period, simply provided him with a reservoir of knowledge which he then sought to share with his contemporaries. Underlying his attitude was the belief that the Bible, much like any other text from antiquity, could withstand scrutiny from linguistic and philological angles; indeed, one's appreciation of the text would be enhanced when these issues were considered. Moreover, he sought to provide extra material to further elucidate the content of these works. Yet ultimately, he left it up to his readers what they did with the text. In many ways, this reflects the open-mindedness which, as we saw, was a product of his early years in Italy.

Within the Protestant sphere, this allowed his work to be used to serve a particular set of related motives. In its literalness and fidelity to the original, features further drawn out in many of the annotations, moreover, Tremellius' Bible, at least indirectly, staked a strong claim to becoming a viable alternative to the Vulgate. In the production of such a work, Tremellius was providing an exceptionally important tool for his faith: if Calvinism could claim the most accurate version of the Bible, it gained a major advantage in the confessional struggles of the period. Both with this high level of translation and all the material with which Tremellius supplemented it, it could be used by sermonisers and religious writers, to a variety of different ends. It also meant that, perhaps most significantly of all, such enterprises, including the provision of vernacular translations, could be pursued independently from the Vulgate, upon which the Catholic church, with all its perceived failings, continued to rest. In facilitating this break, Tremellius played a crucial, if frequently undervalued, role in the Reformation as a whole.

Conclusion

Tremellius' translation of the Old Testament was one of the classics of the Reformation. It came to be published in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and even into the eighteenth centuries, in locations across Europe. In terms of its publishing history, indeed, it was very clearly the most successful Latin rendering of the Bible to emerge from the sixteenth century. Both through this, and through the incorporation of much of its material in other works, including various vernacular Bibles, its impact was very widely felt. More than that, however, it came to be regarded, both by contemporaries and subsequent biblical scholars, as a singularly effective translation of the Scriptures. Of course, Tremellius' proficiency as a Hebraist, in itself, does much to explain this result, but it still needed him to choose to deal with his text in that way. He set as his goal the production of as faithful and as helpful a rendering as he could manage; it was largely due to his triumph in achieving this aim that the work was quite so successful.

His translation of the New Testament from Syriac into Latin of 1569 was also an impressive piece of scholarship in its own right. Again exploiting his particular abilities in relation to the Semitic languages, this was the first time that the Syriac version of the text was made available to a Latin-reading public, the original having been published only 14 years previously. Although the claim did not stand the test of proper academic scrutiny, when Tremellius made this translation, it was believed that the Syriac tradition was older, and consequently of greater value, than the Greek tradition, from which Jerome's Vulgate translation had been made. Had this been the case, Tremellius would have provided the Calvinist church with an especially strong tool upon which to base its pretensions towards independence from Rome. Even though it was not, it remains an

important piece of work, albeit that its value now rests on its merit as a comparative text, and as a reflection of trends in biblical scholarship in the second half of the sixteenth century.

These works did much to establish Tremellius' credentials in the last years of his life, and for posterity. But within his own lifetime he was also very prosperous, primarily because of his activities as a teacher. Through a period of over forty years, with very few gaps, he taught in some of the most prestigious educational institutions, and was invited to join still others. It is clear from his career, moreover, that he was riding on the crest of a wave. On many occasions, he was either the first, or at least among the first, teacher of Hebrew or Old Testament studies to be employed by these academies and universities. In part, he simply possessed abilities which were shared by only a very small number of academics, but in addition, as the attitudes of the figures considered in Chapter three highlight, he was considered to be particularly gifted in this regard.

Indeed, as we saw in that chapter, Tremellius was able to rise from obscurity through the involvement of various high profile figures who appreciated the value of the skills which he brought with him. Although he did not have the luxury of a patron who helped direct him through these awkward years, he was rarely out of work. In many ways, his successful career is testimony to the academic patronage system itself. Through a series of recommendations, an existing network of connections, underpinned by personal, professional, academic and confessional considerations, ran across the whole of northern Europe. Tremellius was undoubtedly unlucky in terms of the changing political situation around him, which obliged him to move on to new pastures so frequently, but this framework allowed him to deal with such adversities relatively painlessly. Even before he enjoyed an international reputation himself, there were people who would involve themselves on his behalf, both out of a desire to do their best for him, but also because they appreciated the benefits that his scholarship brought, and did not wish to see those talents go to waste.

Tremellius' itinerancy, and the complexity of the materials with which he worked may in part explain the disinclination of modern scholars to involve themselves in the study of his life and works, but so too do current attitudes to that period. Although Tremellius' role was fundamental to different aspects of the Calvinist movement, Bible translation simply does not have the immediacy of confessional polemic, for instance. Indeed, Tremellius has been overlooked, I would contend, because he is not an easy figure to characterise. He was reticent about himself and his beliefs, and the works which he produced have little in common with more modern concerns. Nonetheless, and, especially because of the various factors on which my claims to his importance have been based, he does need to be reassessed. Indeed, in order to understand the sixteenth century properly, it is important to approach it on its own terms.

On the other hand, however, the fact that Tremellius has been so fully overlooked in modern scholarship, despite his manifest importance to the early modern period, also means that he may be used as a case-study through which our understanding of several wider themes may be enhanced. First, Tremellius highlights the importance of not under-estimating the Jewish contribution to the Christian culture of the sixteenth century. While Newman's work, written in 1925, on the influence of Jews and Judaism on Christian reform movements, deals only with the influence on Zwingli and Servetus in the Reformation era, preferring to focus much more on the medieval period, more recent works have tended to look at Jewish communities almost in isolation.[1] Where they have looked at relations between Judaism and Christianity, it has more often than not to deal with tensions between the two.[2] Some scholars have also looked at the world of Christian-Hebraism, but their attention has ordinarily been directed at trends

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[1] Louis Israel Newman - Jewish Influence on Christian Reform Movements (New York, 1925). Examples of the more recent scholarship include Moses A. Shulvass - The Jews in the World of the Renaissance (Leiden, 1973), which was originally written in Hebrew, and David B. Ruderman (Ed.) - Preachers of the Italian Ghetto (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1992)

[2] Typical of this are Jeremy Cohen - The Friars and the Jews. The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism (Ithaca, 1982), Heiko Oberman - Roots of Antisemitism (1984) and Amos Funkenstein - 'Basic Types of Christian Anti-Jewish Polemics in the Latin Middle Ages' in Viator 2 (1971), pp.373-82

and individuals in the earlier part of the century.[3] However, the example of Tremellius gives a clear indication that the concern with Hebraica remained important throughout the period. Moreover, he shows that relations between Christians and Jews could also be relatively free of conflict. Above all, as a Jewish convert to Christianity, Tremellius occupied a very special position from which to gauge the Hebraic contribution to the intellectual climate of the age.

Closely connected to this, the career of Tremellius tells us much about the Italian dimension to the Reformation period. For a long time, scholarship tended to see the Italian Reformation as a poor relation of its northern counterpart, and almost entirely derived from that movement. However, scholars are coming to appreciate that not only did the Reformation in Italy have its own particular character, which combined northern Protestantism with a wide range of other more identifiably Italian intellectual influences, but also that this movement itself then came to have a reciprocal impact on events north of the Alps. Peter Martyr Vermigli and Bernardino Ochino were simply the most famous figures to flee Italy, but they were part of quite a widespread trend of the 1540s and 1550s. Immanuel Tremellius came to his individual conception of Christianity through two conversions among the 'spirituali', the reform-minded intellectuals who did so much to shape the religious climate in Italy in the 1530s and early 1540s. It was with this faith that, in 1542, Tremellius embarked upon his career in northern Europe. The moderate form of Calvinism which shaped his career and writings was, in large measure, a product of this environment.

As a scholar and academic in northern Europe, Tremellius exemplifies several further themes. The importance of education, and particularly that of instruction in Hebrew, is made very clear from his career. He was able to enjoy a prestigious life moving from

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[3] The most comprehensive treatment of this subject has been Jerome Friedman - The Most Ancient Testimony: Sixteenth-Century Christian Hebraism in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia (Athens, Ohio, 1983), but the focus here is on the period between 1500 and 1550. Studies of individuals have also tended to avoid the second half of the sixteenth century, although a notable exception is Stephen G. Burnett - From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies. Johannes Buxtorf (1564-1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth Century (Leiden, New York and Cologne, 1996)

one institution to another across the continent. He was never out of work for long, and indeed, on more than one occasion, had more offers of work than he was able to manage. Proficiency in Hebrew was still a relatively rare talent through the sixteenth century; having been born as a Jew and brought up in a Jewish environment, Tremellius was able to develop an intuitive feeling for the Semitic languages which set him apart from his Christian contemporaries.

The return 'ad fontes' of the Renaissance was given further impetus under the impact of the Protestant Reformation and its championing of the principle of 'sola scriptura'. The study of the scriptures in their original languages consequently came to have both an academic and a theological justification. Those who could provide the necessary skills, especially because they were in such short supply, were highly valued commodities. The whole process of education, moreover, came to occupy a crucial position within the emerging Christian confessions, and Tremellius played a significant role within that development.

In the broader context of intellectual life in sixteenth-century Europe, Tremellius highlights various trends. His rise, from obscurity, to a position of considerable prominence certainly depended on his talents, but, especially because his published works came mostly from the latter stages of his career, it also relied upon the support of various individuals of power and influence. He certainly courted patronage, most obviously through his dedications and correspondence, and more generally fitted into an international republic of letters. Tremellius' relations with his colleagues, friends and patrons are instructive as to how an academic of this period was obliged to operate, and indicate the success that could be achieved when this system was utilised well.

Finally, Tremellius' writings challenge certain preconceptions about this period. His editions of the Old and New Testaments of course fit in with the Hebrew instruction that he was offering in the classroom, and also with the attention given to the scriptures more generally, as discussed above. However, Tremellius is remarkable particularly

because his translations into Latin were made at a time when most, especially Protestant, versions were being produced in the vernacular. While the provision of the Scriptures for the masses were certainly a key feature of the sixteenth century, Tremellius' labours indicate that Latin biblical scholarship did continue throughout the century. Indeed, this was an ongoing project: there was a constant quest to produce the most faithful and reliable rendition of the Bible. This could then be used for a range of further activities, including serving as the base text for these vernacular translations. In the Protestant context, moreover, this had the added dimension of producing a suitable alternative to the Vulgate.

In the commentaries which accompanied Tremellius' biblical translations, and also in his lectures, his interests do not conform with the traditional view of Reformation-era religious writing and preaching. As we have seen, he avoided confessional polemic as a conscious policy. While one might have expected him either to set forth Calvinist theology in either of these spheres, or to denigrate the views of others, he treats the Scriptures much more as an impartial academic, seeking to elucidate the ideas contained therein without imposing his own beliefs upon them. Even more significantly, it is clear that Tremellius was not marginalised as a result. He had an eminent career, and his writings were very successful. Thus, not only does Tremellius serve as a helpful corrective for our understanding of religious writings of the period, but he also obliges us to re-evaluate Calvinism as a whole.

The importance to Calvinism of confessional polemic cannot be denied, but this was only one aspect of the religious movement. There was also a concern to compete with the other faiths on purely academic grounds. As Calvin himself appreciated, there was much to be gained by having the best teachers of Hebrew, and the most accurate version of the Scriptures: indeed, these were prerequisites for embarking on confessional polemic and any of the other more familiar features of early modern religious culture. The latter has tended to be given greater prominence in the historical writing on the period, but this study of the career and writings of Tremellius highlights the limitations

of that approach; in order to come to a proper understanding of the religious culture of the sixteenth century, it needs to be approached on its own terms. Immanuel Tremellius does not fit easily into many of the existing categories, but it is clear that the role he played, as a teacher and translator of the Bible, was nonetheless fundamental.

Appendix 1: Short Title List of Tremellius Imprints

Grammatica chaldaea et Syra Immanuelis Tremellii, theologiae doctoris et professoris in schola Heidelbergensi [Geneva]: Henry Stephanus, 1569

Historia Esther, in Latinum Sermonem Conversa... Hamburg: Ex Typogr. Pauli Langi, 1618

In Hoseam Prophetam Interpretatio et Enarratio [Geneva]: N. Barbirius & T. Courteau, 1563

חנך בחירי יה [i.e. Initatio electorum Domini; est versio Hebraica catechismi Jo. Calvini] [Paris]: Robert Stephanus, 1554

חנך בחירי יה [i.e. Initatio electorum Domini; est versio Hebraica catechismi Jo. Calvini] London, 1820

Ionathae Filii Uzielis... Chaldaea paraphrasis in duodecim minores Prophetas... latine reddita Heidelberg: Martin Agricola, 1567

Libellus Vere Aureus D. Martini Buceri de vi et usu Sacri Ministerii cum in genere tum de singulis partibus eius, nunquam antehac typis impressus Basle: Peter Perna, 1562

Praelectiones doctiss. in Epistolam D.P. ad Ephesios, eximii doctoris Martini Buceri, Basle: Peter Perna, 1562

Psalmi Davidis ex Hebraeo in Latinum Conversi London: Henricus Denhamus, 1580

Psalmi Davidis ex Hebraeo in Latinum Conversi Berolini: Sumptibus Societatis Bibliophilorum Britannicae et Externae, 1865

Psalmi Davidis ex Hebraeo in Latinum Conversi Berolini: Sumptibus Societatis Bibliophilorum Britannicae et Externae, 1868

Psalmi Davidis ex Hebraeo in Latinum Conversi Berolini: Sumptibus Societatis Bibliophilorum Britannicae et Externae, 1886

Psalmi Davidis ex Hebraeo in Latinum Conversi Berolini: Sumptibus Societatis Bibliophilorum Britannicae et Externae, 1892

Psalmi Davidis ex Hebraeo in Latinum Conversi Berolini: Sumptibus Societatis Bibliophilorum Britannicae et Externae, 1898

Psalmi Davidis ex Hebraeo in Latinum Conversi Berolini: Sumptibus Societatis Bibliophilorum Britannicae et Externae, 1901

Psalmi Davidis ex Hebraeo in Latinum Conversi Berolini: Sumptibus Societatis Bibliophilorum Britannicae et Externae, 1911

Psalmi Davidis ex Hebraeo in Latinum Conversi Berolini: Sumptibus Societatis Bibliophilorum Britannicae et Externae, 1915

Psalmi Davidis ex Hebraeo in Latinum Conversi Berolini: Sumptibus Societatis Bibliophilorum Britannicae et Externae, 1921

Psalmi Davidis ex Hebraeo in Latinum Conversi Berolini: Sumptibus Societatis Bibliophilorum Britannicae et Externae, 1925

Specularius, Dialogus Pernecessarius Neapoli Nemetum: Matthaeus Harnisch, 1581 [work possibly misattributed to Tremellius?]

H KAINH ΔIAΘHKH. TESTAMENTUM NOVVM. הַחֲדָתָא [Geneva]: Henricus Stephanus, 1569

H KAINH ΔIAΘHKH. TESTAMENTUM NOVVM. הַחֲדָתָא Lyon: "In Bibliopolio Salamandrae". i.e. Baudrier, 1571

NOVUM Domini nostri JESU CHRISTI TESTAMENTUM Syriace Cothensis Anhaltinorum: Martin Trostio, 1621

NOVUM Domini nostri JESU CHRISTI TESTAMENTUM Syriace Cothensis Anhaltinorum: Martin Trostio, 1622

BIBLIORUM PARS PRIMA, id est QUINQUE LIBRI MOSCHIS Latini recens ex Hebraeo facti, Frankfurt am Main: Andreas Wechel, 1579, 75

Testamenti veteris... libri Canonici... Latini... facti... London: Henry Middleton, impensis C.B.[i.e. Christopher Barker], 1580, 79

Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra London: Henry Middleton, impensis C.B. [i.e. Christopher Barker], 1581

Testamenti Veteris... Libri Canonici... Latini... facti... London: Henry Middleton, impensis C.B.[i.e. Christopher Barker], 1585

TESTAMENTI VETERIS BIBLIA SACRA Geneva: Ioan. Tornaesius, Impensis Andreas Wechel Haeredum, Claudii Marnii & Ioannis Aubrii, 1590

TESTAMENTI VETERIS BIBLIA SACRA London: Impensis Guliel. N., 1593, 92

TESTAMENTI VETERIS BIBLIA SACRA Hanau: Impensis Andreae Wecheli heredum, Claudii Marnii, & Ioannis Aubrii, 1596

Testamenti Veteris BIBLIA SACRA London: G.B., R.N. & R.B., 1597, 92

Testamenti Veteris BIBLIA SACRA Hanau: Typis Wechelianis, apud Claudium Marnium, & haeredes Joannis Aubrii, 1602

Testamenti Veteris BIBLIA SACRA Hanau: Typis Wechelianis, apud Claudium Marnium & haeredes Joannis Aubrii, 1603

Testamenti Veteris BIBLIA SACRA Sancti Gervasii: Sumptibus Caldorianae Societatis, 1607

Testamenti Veteris BIBLIA SACRA Geneva: Sumptibus Matthaei Berjon, 1617

Testamenti Veteris Biblia sacra Hanau: typis Wechelianis, sumptibus Danielis ac Davidis Aubriorum necnon Clementis Scleichii [i.e. Schleichii], 1618

Testamenti Veteris Biblia sacra Hanau: typis Wechelianis, sumptibus Danielis ac Davidis Aubriorum, nec non Clementis Schleichii, 1618

Testamenti Veteris BIBLIA SACRA Hanau: Typis Wechelianis, Sumptibus Danielis ac Dauidis Aubriorum, ac Clementis Schleichii, 1624, 23

BIBLIA SACRA VETERIS ET NOVI TESTAMENTI Amsterdam: Ioannes Ianssonius, 1627

BIBLIA SACRA, SIVE, TESTAMENTVM VETVS Amsterdam: Guiljel Ianssonius Caesius, 1628

Testamenti Veteris BIBLIA SACRA Geneva: Apud Philippus Albertus, 1630

BIBLIA SACRA, SIVE TESTAMENTUM VETUS Amsterdam: Guiljel: Ianssonius Blaeuw, 1631

BIBLIA SACRA, SIVE TESTAMENTUM VETVS Amsterdam, Ioannem Ianssonius, 1632

BIBLIA SACRA, SIVE TESTAMENTUM VETVS Amsterdam: Guiljel: Ianssonius Blaeuw, 1633

Biblia sacra, sive Testamentum Vetus Amsterdam: apud Guiliel: Janssonius Blaeuw, 1639

BIBLIA SACRA, SIVE Testamentum vetus London: Milonis Flesher & Rob. Young, 1640

BIBLIA SACRA, SIVE TESTAMENTVM VETVS Amsterdam: Ioannes Ianssonius, 1648

BIBLIA SACRA, SIVE TESTAMENTVM VETVS Amsterdam: Ioannis Blaev, Sumptibus Societatis, 1651

BIBLIA SACRA sive Testamentum London: E.J. et A.H., 1656

BIBLIA SACRA SIVE Testamentum Vetus London: E.T. & A.M. sumpt. Societ. 1656

BIBLIA SACRA sive Testamentum vetus London: E. Tyler, 1661

BIBLIA SACRA, SIVE TESTAMENTVM VETVS Amsterdam, Iohannes Iacobi Schipper, 1669

SACRA BIBLIA Sive TESTAMENTUM VETUS Zürich: Ex Typographeo Bodmeriano, 1673

BIBLIA SACRA, SIVE TESTAMENTVM VETVS London: R. Norton, 1680

SACRA BIBLIA SIVE TESTAMENTVM VETUS ET NOVUM Zürich, 1703

BIBLIA SACRA, SIVE TESTAMENTUM VETUS Hannover, Nicolai Försteri, 1715

Chevallier, Antoine - Rudimenta Hebraicae Linguage... Eorundem rudimentorum praxis... Praefixa est epistola Hebraea... Ioan Immanuelis Tremellii [Geneva]: Excudit Io. Crispinus, 1561, 60

Chevallier, Antoine - Rudimenta Hebraicae Linguage... Eorundem rudimentorum praxis... Praefixa est epistola Hebraea... Ioan Immanuelis Tremellii [Geneva]: Henricus Stephanus, 1567

Chevallier, Antoine - Rudimenta Hebraicae Linguage... Eorundem rudimentorum praxis... Praefixa est epistola Hebraea... Ioan Immanuelis Tremellii Wittenberg, Iohannes Crato, 1574

Chevallier, Antoine - Rudimenta Hebraicae Linguage... Eorundem rudimentorum praxis... Praefixa est epistola Hebraea... Ioan Immanuelis Tremellii Freiburg Brisgoia: Iohannes Brunnerus, 1585

Chevallier, Antoine - Rudimenta Hebraicae Linguage... Eorundem rudimentorum praxis... Praefixa est epistola Hebraea... Ioan Immanuelis Tremellii Geneva: Franciscus Le Preux, 1590

Chevallier, Antoine - Rudimenta Hebraicae Linguage... Eorundem rudimentorum praxis... Praefixa est epistola Hebraea... Ioan Immanuelis Tremellii Geneva: Franciscus Le Preux, 1591

Chevallier, Antoine - Rudimenta Hebraicae Linguage... Eorundem rudimentorum praxis... Praefixa est epistola Hebraea... Ioan Immanuelis Tremellii Wittenberg: Ex officina Cratonia, 1591

Chevallier, Antoine - Rudimenta Hebraicae Linguage... Eorundem rudimentorum praxis... Praefixa est epistola Hebraea... Ioan Immanuelis Tremellii Wittenberg: 1596

Luther, Martin - Le Livre de l'Ecclésiaste... avec deux versions du texte, dont celle que est en lettre italique est de M. Emanuel Tremel [Geneva]: Jean Crespin, 1557

Appendix 2: Correspondence of Immanuel Tremellius

1550s

1551/ 1548 (?)	Tremellius to William Cecil	B.L. MS Lansdowne 2 70; Strype Ecclesiastical Memorials 2.i.323
1551, Feb/March	Tremellius to Jean Calvin	C.O., No. 1452
1552, July	*Tremellius to Matthew Parker*	*Mentioned: Strype - Life of Parker*
1554, June 14	Tremellius to Jean Calvin	C.O., No. 1971; Paris BN MSS Fonds Français, Dupuy 268 no. 12
1554, Sept. 8	Tremellius to Jean Calvin	C.O., No. 2008
1555, Aug. 17	Tremellius to Conrad Hubert	ZbZ Ms S 84,6
1556, May 15	Tremellius to Conrad Hubert	ZbZ Ms S 84,7
1557, Dec. 15	Tremellius to Conrad Hubert	ZbZ Ms S 91, 47
1558, Jan. 16	Tremellius to Conrad Hubert	ZbZ Ms S 91, 111
1558, Aug./ Sept.	Jean Calvin to Tremellius	C.O., No. 2944; Bonnet - Lettres, No. 511
1558, Dec. 11	Tremellius to Johannes Camerarius	ZbZ Ms S 93, 154
1559, Sept. 6	Tremellius to Conrad Hubert	ZbZ Ms S 95, 158
1559, Oct. 23	Tremellius to Conrad Hubert	ZbZ Ms S 96, 13
1559, Nov. 9	Tremellius to Conrad Hubert	ZbZ Ms S 96, 38

1560s

1561, Feb. 19	Tremellius to William Cecil	CSP-Foreign, 1560-1, No.1008
1561, Feb.22	Instructions for Tremellius	CSP-Foreign, 1560-1, No.1022

1561, May 4	Tremellius to William Cecil	CSP-Foreign 1561-2, No. 171
1561, May 15	Tremellius to Nicholas Throckmorton	CSP-Foreign 1561-2, No. 197
1562, Oct. 27	Jean Calvin to Tremellius	C.O., No. 3870
1568, April 8	Cirler to Tremellius	Kluckhohn - Briefe Friedrich, No. 517
1568, April 25	Cirler to Tremellius	Kluckhohn - Briefe Friedrich, No. 519
1568, Sept. 16	Tremellius to Matthew Parker	Parker Correspondence, No. 255, Vol. 2, pp.332-3; Mentioned: Strype - Life of Parker

1570s

1570, Sept. 16	Tremellius to Antoine Chevallier	MS 2010, Fairhurst f.19 Lambeth Palace Library
1571, Aug. 5	Tremellius to Johannes Haller	ZbZ Ms S 124, 123
1571, Dec. 26	Zanchi, Tremellius and Boquinus	Zanchi - Operum Theologicum, vol. 8, pp.68-9
1574, Apr. 8	Tremellius to Matthew Parker	MS 2010, Fairhurst f.36 Lambeth Palace Library
1579, Sept./Oct.	Tremellius to Theodore Beza	C.deB., No. 1373, Vol. 20, pp.194-9
n.d.	[Archbishop Parker] to Tremellius	MS 2010, Fairhurst ff.215-6 Lambeth Palace Library

Appendix 3: Correspondence in which Tremellius is Mentioned

1540s

1544, Oct. 13	Valerand Poullain to John Calvin	C.O., No. 577; Herminjard, No. 1398
1545, Jan. 12	Valerand Poullain to John Calvin	C.O., No. 604
1545, Apr. 28	H. Guymonneus to John Calvin	C.O., No. 635
1545, Nov. 28	Marcantonio Flaminio to A. Pavaranzo	Pastore - Lettere No.51
1547, Aug. 25/29?	John Calvin to Pierre Viret	C.O., No. 941; Bonnet - Letters, No. 205
1547, Nov. 24	Pierre Viret to Guillaume Farel	C.O., No. 969
1547, Nov. 28	Martin Bucer to Thomas Cranmer	MS 1458 Epistolae Haereticorum, Paris, Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève
1547, Dec. 8	Jacobus Falesius to Paul Fagius	C.O., No. 974
1548, Mar. 20 (new 301)	Oswald Myconius to Heinrich Bullinger	StAZ, EII 336a 286
1549, Apr. 26	Bucer & Fagius to Ministers at Stras	Original Letters, No. 248, pp.534-7

1550s

1551/ 1548 (?)	Tremellius to William Cecil	B.L. Lansdowne 2 70; Strype Ecclesiastical Memorials 2.i.323
1551, March	Tremellius to John Calvin	C.O., No. 1452
1552, July	*Tremellius to Matthew Parker*	*Mentioned: Strype - Life of Parker*
1552, Sept.	Bishop of Ely to William Cecil	B.L. Lansdowne 2 90; Strype Ecclesiastical Memorials 2.ii.53
1552, Oct. 24	Grant, Ed. VI to Tremellius	CPR - Edward, vol. 4, p.262
1552, Oct. 26	Grant, Ed. VI to Tremellius	CPR - Edward, vol. 4, p.277

[1553] 1552, Mar. 10	Grant, Ed. VI to Tremellius	CPR - Edward, vol. 4, pp.280-1
1554, June 13	Wolfgang Musculus to John Calvin	C.O., No. 1968
1554, June 14	Tremellius to John Calvin	C.O., No. 1971; Paris BN MSS Fonds Français Dupuy 268 no. 12
1554, June 17	Johann Haller to Heinrich Bullinger	StAZ EII 370, 199
1554, Sept. 8	Tremellius to John Calvin	C.O., No. 2008
1554, Nov. 13	John Calvin to Lord John Grey	C.O., No. 2044; Bonnet - Letters, No. 371, vol. 3, pp.94-6; Original Letters, No. 339, pp.715-7
1554, Nov. 18	P. M. Vermigli to Theodore Beza	C.O., No. 2049; C.deB., No. 54, p.147
1555, Aug. 17	Tremellius to Conrad Hubert	ZbZ Ms S 84,6
1556, May 15	Tremellius to Conrad Hubert	ZbZ Ms S 84,7
1557, Dec. 15	Tremellius to Conrad Hubert	ZbZ Ms S 91, 47
1558, Jan. 16	Tremellius to Conrad Hubert	ZbZ Ms S 91, 111
[1558], Jan. 18	Theodore Beza to John Calvin	C.deB., No. 130
1558, 22 Jan.	Theodore Beza to John Calvin	C.O., No. 2795; C.deB., No. 131
1558, 29 Aug.	John Calvin to Tremellius	C.O., No. 2944; Bonnet - Letters, No. 511
[1558], Oct.	Genevan Senate to Bipontine Duke	C.O., No. 4191
1558, Dec. 11	Tremellius to Johannes Camerarius	ZbZ Ms S 93, 154
1559, Mar. 27	John Calvin to Boisnormand	C.O., No. 3030; Bonnet - Letters, No. 532
1559, Sept. 6	Tremellius to Conrad Hubert	ZbZ Ms S 95, 158
1559, Oct. 23	Tremellius to Conrad Hubert	ZbZ Ms S 96, 13
1559, Nov.	John Calvin to Monsieur de Clervant	Bonnet - Lettres, vol. 2, pp.294-7
1559, Nov. 9	Tremellius to Conrad Hubert	ZbZ Ms S 96, 38

1559, Dec. 1 (1558-61), pp.31-3	Antoine Chevallier to Theodore Beza	C.deB., No. 153, vol. 3

1560s

1560, Oct. 8	Erastus to Heinrich Bullinger	StAZ EII 361, 8
1560, Oct. 30	Erastus to Heinrich Bullinger	StAZ EII 361, 85
1561, Feb. 12	Erastus to Heinrich Bullinger	StAZ EII 361, 63
1561, Feb. 19 1008	Tremellius to William Cecil	CSP-Foreign, 1560-1, No.
1561, Feb. 22 1020	Earl of Bedford to Ger. Prots.	CSP-Foreign, 1560-1, No.
1561, Feb.22 1022	Instructions for Tremellius	CSP-Foreign, 1560-1, No.
1561, Feb. 26 1030 (25)	Bedford & Throckmorton to Privy C.	CSP-Foreign, 1560-1, No.
1561, May 4 171	Tremellius to William Cecil	CSP-Foreign, 1561-2, No.
1561, May 9 189 (1)	Throckmorton to Q. Elizabeth	CSP-Foreign, 1561-2, No.
1561, May 9 190 (1)	Throckmorton to William Cecil	CSP-Foreign, 1561-2, No.
1561, May 15 No. 197	Tremellius to Nicholas Throckmorton	CSP-Foreign, 1561-2,
1561, May 21 208 (5)	Throckmorton to Q. Elizabeth	CSP-Foreign, 1561-2, No.
[1561], July 16	Erastus to Heinrich Bullinger	StAZ EII 361, 62
1562, Oct. 27	John Calvin to Tremellius	C.O., No. 3870
1562, Sept. 8	Petrus Dathenus to Heinrich Bullinger	StAZ EII 347, 815/16
1563, Sept.	John Calvin to Girolamo Zanchi	C.O., No. 4014

1564, Mar. 3	Michael Hortinus to H. Bullinger	StAZ EII 368, 565
1566, June 27	Mallot to Theodore Beza	C.deB. No. 478
1568, Mar. 27	Guzman de Silva to Philip II	CSP-Spanish, vol. 2, pp.16-7
1568, April 8	Cirler to Tremellius	Kluckhohn - Briefe Friedrich, No. 517
1568, April 25	Cirler to Tremellius	Kluckhohn - Briefe Friedrich, No. 519
1568, July 8	Erastus to Bullinger	StAZ EII 346, 551
1568, Sept. 16	Tremellius to Matthew Parker	Parker Correspondence, No. 255
1569, Sep. 22	Lasicki to Theodore Beza	C.deB., No. 706

1570s

1570, Sept. 16	Tremellius to Antoine Chevallier	2010, f.19 Lambeth
1571, Aug. 5	Tremellius to Johannes Haller	ZbZ Ms S 124, 123
1571, Sept. 16	Zurkinden to Theodore Beza	C.deB., No. 859
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1572, July 5	Theodore Beza to Thomas Tillius	C.deB., No. 928
1574, Apr. 8	Tremellius to Matthew Parker	2010, f.36 Lambeth
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1574, June 18	Johannes Haller to H. Bullinger	StAZ E II 370, 499r
1577, Feb. 2	Daniel Toussain to Theodore Beza	C.deB., No. 1234
[1577], Dec. 25	Zacharias Ursinus to Theodore Beza	C.deB., No. 1283

1579, Aug. 26	Theodore Beza to Peter Young	C.deB., No. 1367
[1579, Sept./Oct.]	Tremellius to Theodore Beza	C.deB., No. 1373
[1579], Oct. 24	Jean-Jacques Grynaeus to T. Beza	C.deB., No. 1379
[1579], Nov. 3	Jean Hortin to Theodore Beza	C.deB., No. 1383
1579, Nov. 13	Peter Young to Theodore Beza	C.deB., No. 1385
n.d.	[Archbishop Parker] to Tremellius	2010, ff.215-6 Lambeth

Appendix 4: Composite List of Tremellius' Bibles

New Testament

	Year	Location	Size	Printers/Publishers
1	1569	Geneva	folio	H. Stephanus
2	1571	Lyon		Baudrier
3	1621	Cothen	4to	M. Trostius
4	1622	Cothen	4to	M. Trostius

Old Testament					**N.T.**
1	1579, 1575	Frankfurt	folio	Andreas Wechel	------
2	1580, 1579	London	4to	Middleton; Barker	Trem.
3	1581	London	4to	Middleton	Beza
4	1585	London	4to	Middleton; Barker	T./B.
5	1590	Geneva	4to	Tornaesius; Wechels	T./B.
6	1593, 1592	London	folio	Bishop, Newbery & Parker	T./B.
7	1596	Hanau	folio	Wechels - Marne & Aubri	T./B.
8	1596	Hanau	8vo	Wechels - Marne & Aubri	Beza
9	1597, 1592	London	folio	Bishop, Newbery & Parker	T./B.
10	1602	Hanau	4to/8vo	Wechels - Marne & Aubri	T./B.
11	1603	Hanau	folio	Wechels - Marne & Aubri	T./B.
12	1607	Sancti Gervasi	folio	Sumpt. Cal. Soc.	T./B.
13	1617	Geneva	folio	Matthew Berjon	T./B.
14	1618	Hanau	4to	Wechels - D. & D. Aubri	T./B.
15	1618	Hanau	8vo	Wechels - D. & D. Aubri	Beza
16	1624, 1623	Hanau	folio	Wechels	T./B.
17	1627	Amsterdam	12mo	J. Jansson	Beza
18	1628	Amsterdam	12mo	G. I. Caesium	Beza
19	1630	Geneva	folio	Philip Albert	T./B.
20	1631	Amsterdam	12mo	G. I. Blaeuw	Beza
21	1632	Amsterdam	12mo	J. Jansson	Beza
22	1633	Amsterdam	12mo	Blaeuw	Beza
23	1639	Amsterdam	12mo	Blaeuw	Beza
24	1640	London	12mo	Flesher	Beza
25	1648	Amsterdam	12mo	J. Jansson	Beza
26	1651	Amsterdam	12mo	I. Blaeuw	Beza
27	1656	London	12mo	E.Tyler & A.M.	Beza
28	1661	London	12mo	E. Tyler	Beza
29	1669	Amsterdam	12mo	I. I. Schipper	Beza
30	1673	Zürich	8vo	Bodmerianus	Beza
31	1680	London	12mo	Norton; Ponder	Beza
32	1688	Amsterdam	12mo	J. Jansson	Beza
33	1703	Zürich	8vo	David Gessner	Beza
34	1715	Hanau	8vo	Nicholas Forster	Beza

[This table indicates whether the New Testament accompanying these editions was produced by Tremellius, Beza or the two placed in parallel.]

Appendix 5: Cambridge Theological Students, 1549-62[1]

1549-53

1549-50	Peter Ashton	B.D.	(6: 1543-4)
	Martin Bucer	D.D.	
1550-51	Robert Pachet	B.D.	(7:1543-4)
	Andrew Person	B.D.	(7:1543-4)
	Miles Wilson	B.D.	(6:1544-5)
1551	Henry Ayland	B.D.	(Dispensation[2])
	Edmund Bovington	B.D.	(7:1544)
	Edmund Guest	B.D.	(6:1545)
	George Harris	B.D.	(6:1545)
	John Pedder	B.D.	(7:1544)
	James Pilkington	B.D.	(7:1544)
	John Thompson[3]	B.D.	
1551-52	Thomas Wilson	B.D.	(7:1544-5)
	Andrew Perne	D.D.	(4:1547-8)
1552	Robert Coplaye	B.D.	(7:1545)
	Christopher Karlyll	B.D.	(7:1545)
	Thomas Lever	B.D.	(6:1546)
1552-53	William Thewles	B.D.	(5:1547-8)
	Edward Thwaytes	B.D.	(7:1545-6)
	William Whytlocke	B.D.	(7:1545-6)
	John Young	D.D.	(4:1548-9)

[1]This table contains information relating to all the students who studied theology at Cambridge, and who may have been taught by Tremellius. The names are arranged according to the years in which they graduated with theological degrees. In the third column, it is recorded whether they were the recipients of bachelor or doctor of divinity degrees. The fourth column gives the number of years that the student had been studying, where this has been recorded, and the year in which that means that they must have embarked upon their studies. The final column contains information relating to the experiences of the students during the reign of Edward VI, and anything which might indicate whether they remained in England during that time or not. If they were Catholic there is a greater likelihood of flight, but unless there is evidence which confirms that they did not spend any time in Cambridge while Tremellius was there, their names have been retained. The figures for whom 'NO' is recorded were definitely not taught by him; more often than not, these are simply people who began their degrees after Tremellius had left Cambridge. Only three figures from 1561 and 1562 are included; there were more, but only these had studied long enough in their degrees for the possibility to remain that they had been taught by him.
[2]Henry Ayland died in 1551 before being admitted to the degree of B.D.
[3]The Grace for John Thompson reads: "Eadem gratia de verbo in verbum conceditur magistro Tompson de collegio Joannis", Grace Book Δ, p.73

1553-60

1553-54	Nicholas Murton	B.D.	(6:1547-8)	Cath/unknown
	Thomas Peacock	B.D.	(7:1546-7)	Cath/unknown
	Robert Perseverell	B.D.		No mention
	Leonard Pollarde[4]	B.D.		
	Thomas Segiswycke	D.D.	(3:1550-1)	Cath/unknown
	Thomas Watson[5]	D.D.	(6:1547-8)	
1554	Thomas Atkynson	B.D.		No mention
	Philip Baker[6]	B.D.		
	Henry Bovyll	B.D.		Cath/unknown
	George Bullock[7]	B.D.	(7:1547)	
	John Christopherson	B.D.	(7:1547)	
	Edward Godsalve[8]	B.D.		Cath/unknown
	William Gogman	B.D.	(7:1547)	No mention
	Edward Hawfarde[9]	B.D.	(7:1547)	
	Thomas Redman	B.D.	(6:1548)	Cath/unknown
	Richard Rudd	B.D.		No mention
	William Taylor	B.D.	(6:1548)	Cath/unknown
	John Weale	B.D.	(10:1544)	Cath/unknown
	Richard Fawcett[10]	D.D.	(3:1551)	
	Alban Langdale	D.D.	(7: 1548)	
1554-5	William Whynke	B.D.	(7:1547-8)	Cath/unknown
	Hugh Weston[11]	D.D.	(Incorp.fr.Oxf.)	
1555	John Johnson	B.D.	(6:1549)	No mention
	Thomas Merell	B.D.	(7:1548)	No mention
	Ralph Bane	D.D.	(10:1545)	NO
1555-6	John Vincent	B.D.	(7:1548-9)	No mention

[4]Leonard Pollard (d.1556) was involved in a public disputation over the Lord's Supper in June 1549, and was made a canon of Worcester in 1551.

[5]Thomas Watson (1516-84), was a chaplain to Bishop Gardiner between 1545 and 1553.

[6]Philip Baker (1524-1601) gained his MA in 1548 and BD in 1554. But unclear.

[7]George Bullock (1521?-1580?) seems to have been away from England through some, but not all of Edward VI's reign. He was proctor of Cambridge for the academic year beginning in October 1549, and in 1550-1 was examined on the trial of Bishop Gardiner. He perhaps left England in 1551, as he stayed at the abbey of Nevers in France for two years, before returning to England on the accession of Mary.

[8]Edward Godsalve was a close friend of John Christopherson, who retired to Louvain during Edward's reign.

[9]Edward Hawfarde, or Hawford, was appointed proctor of Christ's college, Cambridge in 1552.

[10]Richard Fawcett, became a canon of Canterbury in March 1553-4, and commended his DD in 1554.

[11]Hugh Weston (1505?-1558) had, between 1530 and 1540 acquired a BA, MA, BM, BD and DD from Oxford. In 1540 he was made Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity; he was deprived of this position early in 1549 on account of his Catholic views, and indeed was imprisoned for some time. The award of a DD from Cambridge in 1554 was consequently most likely honorary. On the other hand, had it been at all possible, as a Professor of Divinity, he would no doubt have been keen to hear Tremellius' lectures.

1556	William Bell	B.D.	(10:1546)	No mention
	John Dale	B.D.		Cath/unknown
	Richard Edyll	B.D.	(6:1550)	No mention
	Robert Hartborne	B.D.	(12:1544)	No mention
	Robert Shawe[12]	B.D.	(5:1551)	No mention
1557	Robert Grey	B.D.	(MA: 1549)	No mention
	Edmund Lees	B.D.		No mention
	John Maulham	B.D.	(MA: 1549)	No mention
	John Parkyn	B.D.		No mention
	George Bemonde[13]	D.D.	(7:1550)	No mention
	Robert Brassey	D.D.	(16:1541)	Unclear
	George Bullock	D.D.	(3: 1554)	NO
	Henry Cole[14]	D.D.	(Incorp.fr.Oxf)	
	Thomas Heskins[15]	D.D.	(6:1551)	
1558	Thomas Bayley[16]	B.D.	(7:1551)	
1559	John Badcock[17]	B.D.	(12:1547)	
	Robert Horne	D.D.	(3:1556)	NO
	John Pory[18]	D.D.	(10:1549)	
1559-60	John Farmery	B.D.	(7: 1552-3)	
1560	Robert Beamonde	B.D.	(7: 1553)	NO
	Roger Kelke[19]	B.D.	(12:1548)	
	John Maye	B.D.	(7: 1553)	NO
	John Pylkyngton[20]	B.D.	(10:1550)	

[12]But had acquired his MA in 1551, same year as began BD.

[13]George Bemonde had acquired his BD in 1549, presumably, therefore, having heard the lectures of Fagius.

[14]Henry Cole (1500?-1580) is said to have been supportive of the Reformation during the earlier part of Edward VI's reign, and a warm admirer of Peter Martyr, but thereafter to have shifted his allegiances. He resigned from various posts in 1548, 1551 and 1552, suggesting that he remained in England throughout this time.

[15]Thomas Heskin, or Heskyns, took his BD in 1548, and his DD in 1557. He was rector of Hildersham in Cambridgeshire between 1551-6, which would suggest that he was at least resident in England during this period.

[16]No mention in either Cooper or DNB. Thomas Bailey (d.1591) was a Catholic, who retired to the continent shortly after the accession of Elizabeth. He had gained his MA in 1549, while the Grace Book indicates that he began working towards his BD in 1551. Whether he was at Cambridge at this point cannot be ascertained.

[17]John Badcock (d.c.1562) had been a canon and then prior of Barnwell; after 1538, in which year the house was surrendered to the crown, he farmed the monastery lands in Cambridge. In 1551, he was in receipt of an annual pension of £60, but it is unclear where he was at this point.

[18]John Pory (d.1573?) was a friend of Matthew Parker, whose support helped him become master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1557, and vice-chancellor of the university in 1558. Presumably he remained in England during the reign of Edward VI.

[19]Roger Kelke had been out of England during the reign of Mary, which explains the delay in his studies. The Grace Book would further indicate that he had begun working on his degree only shortly before Tremellius started to lecture.

[20]John Pilkington (1529?-1603) had gained his MA in 1549. He was the younger brother of the bishop of Durham, James Pilkington, who is listed above, having obtained his BD in 1551. James had fled to the

	Nicholas Robinson	B.D.	(7: 1553)	NO
	William Stevenson	B.D.	(7: 1553)	NO
1561-62				
1561	Thomas Broke	B.D.	(20:1541)	Unclear
1562	Anthony Burton	B.D.	(10:1552)	Unclear
	Richard Rogers[21]	B.D.	(10:1552)	MA 1552

continent in 1554, and it is quite likely that his brother had done so too. This hiatus would then explain why he had been working on his degree for ten years.

[21]Richard Rogers (1532?-1597) went into exile on religious grounds during the reign of Mary, making it likely that he had therefore stayed during the reign of Edward VI. Therefore brief overlap?

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